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MEMOIRS

OF THE

BARON DE TOTT,

ON THE

TURKS AND THE TARTARS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN AT PARIS,

UNDER THE IMMEDIATE INSPECTION OF

THE BARON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR L. WHITE, J. CASH, AND R. MARCHBANK.

M,DCC,LXXXV.

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PREFACE

BY THE

TRANSLATOR

THE Tranſlator of the preſent work is ſenſible that he could not have taken a more diſadvantageous, or more ungrateful ſtation in the literary world. No merit in the tranſlation of living languages, can flatter the perſon who undertakes it, with the hopes of obtaining an adequate recompence for his labours, either in point of intereſt, or ambition; yet the utility of his occupation is univerſally admitted, and

they who are acquainted with the two languages, muſt acknowledge, becauſe they know, the difficulties he has to ſurmount, to render a tranſlation tolerable.

To the deciſion of ſuch judges, the Tranſlator ſubmits a work, he was induced to attempt, from motives of utility, and with the view of reſcuing an author of great merit, and authenticity, from ſuch treatment as he had reaſon to apprehend from the multitude of inaccurate and mutilated tranſlations from the French, with which the Engliſh preſs is daily teeming. Every *Raynal* has not the good fortune to fall into the hands of a *Juſtamond*. He will only add, on the ſubject of tranſlation, that it were to be wiſhed, for the facility of that literary commerce which is increaſing rapidly between the two firſt nations in Europe, *tam Marti, quam Mercurio*, that a Dictionary might be formed of all the ſynonimous terms in Arts, Sciences, Natural Hiſtory, &c. in the two languages, the preſent Dictionaries being ſo completely inadequate to the purpoſes of tranſlation, in any of thoſe branches. The extenſive and minute knowledge

knowledge of the Baron de Tott, whilſt it aſtoniſhes the reader, in the courſe of theſe Memoirs, will evince the utility, and, the Tranſlator fears, the neceſſity of this remark. It is certain, however, that in works entirely devoted to arts and ſciences, the very beſt Tranſlator, without ſuch aid, will find himſelf involved in inſurmountable difficulties, which muſt neceſſarily lead to obſcurity and confuſion. The diſuſe of Latin in the preſent age, as the medium of ſcientific communication throughout Europe, renders ſuch a Dictionary particularly neceſſary for the two rival nations.

With reſpect to the original work, the Tranſlator thinks he may venture to pronounce, with ſome degree of confidence, that theſe *Memoirs* will be at all times juſtly held in eſtimation; that they will furniſh entertainment and inſtruction for the man of the world, and matter of profound meditation for the philoſopher and politician. Did they ſtand in need of any other recommendation than their own intrinſic merit, the illuſtrious names of a *Choiſeul* and a *Vergennes*, ſtand as an unqueſtionable pledge

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of the abilities and reputation of the ingenious and diſtinguiſhed author, whilſt the importance and varied objects of his ſeveral miſſions, render all his remarks peculiarly intereſting.

A public ſtation at the Ottoman Porte, and amongſt the Tartars, under ſuch Miniſters of a great, as well as the moſt favoured nation in that part of the world; a nation at all times celebrated too for its diſcernment and choice of able civil officers and negociators; a moſt cultivated underſtanding and comprehenſive knowledge,—a thorough acquaintance with the language and manners of the Turkiſh empire, for three and twenty years, the peculiar circumſtances of the times wherein his abilities were called into exertion, the ſubſequent, and future probable events, which bid fair, perhaps in our days, to unhinge the whole ſyſtem of European politics: theſe are ſtrong, unequivocal recommendations, which fall to the lot of but few authors.

Ricault, *Marſigli*, *Lady Mary Wortley Montague*, and *Sir James Porter*, have written

ten on the Turkish empire; the two former possess but a small degree of reputation; the second indeed very honestly sums up his account by declaring, that it is almost impossible to form any judgment of that people. Our elegant countrywoman, with a most voluptuous and animated pencil, has transported her reader into the paradise of Mahomet, by her lively powers of imagination; has entered into competition with the Prophet himself, and endeavoured to convert our Christian men and women too, into true believers. Sir James Porter alone has the merit of having first given to the world, true details, and accurate observations, on the manners of the Turks, founded on facts, he was himself a witness to; and to which, these Memoirs bear honourable testimony. As for the general class of travellers, their attention seems to have been limited, to the barbarous nomenclature, of the different officers of the Porte, without explaining the true nature, and extent of their employments, and by endeavouring to assimilate them with those of our European Courts, where, in fact, there is no resemblance, to give the reader, the *Red Book* of

of the Grand Signior, as a ſubſtitute for every other ſpecies of information, and leave him bewildered in intricacies and errors. As an hiſtory, the annals of *Prince Cantemir*, deſerve an honourable mention, and are well worthy of peruſal, as involving in them, the true character of the Turkiſh nation, and the influence of their government, from whence aroſe thoſe various revolutions, of which he is the hiſtorian; but never have this extraordinary government and people been ſo fully, or ſo accurately developed, as by the author of theſe Memoirs: diveſted of prejudice too, and almoſt ſuperior to the reſtraints of the country in which he writes, in painting the Ottoman empire, he has laid open errors and crimes common to all deſpotic governments, and by boldly tracing them to deſpotiſm itſelf, has indirectly, but effectually ſtood forth, the champion of humanity. A citizen himſelf, of a government, arbitrary, at leaſt in its principles, he has ventured to hold out a terrible and ſalutary warning to all nations, not quite ſo far gone in ſlavery, as the wretched orientals, to guard well their

few

few remaining rights, and to tremble for the total loſs of freedom.

After making the reader perfectly acquainted with the manners and monſtrous government of the Turks, and correcting numberleſs errors of preceding travellers, can any thing be more curious or intereſting, than to ſee this unweildy maſs in motion, and an empire conſiſting of eighty millions of inhabitants, poſſeſſed of the fineſt climates and countries on the globe, upheld, and poſſibly preſerved, in a moſt critical moment of its exiſtence, by the ſuperior addreſs and underſtanding of one ſingle European?——All Europe knew, at the time, that the defence of the Dardanelles againſt the Ruſſian fleet was intruſted to Mr. de Tott*, but never until the

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* The judicious editor of the Annual Regiſter, publiſhed by Dodſley, in ſpeaking of the campaigns between the Turks and Ruſſians of 1773 and 1774, makes the following obſervations. "No details are "to be expected from a Turkiſh Cabinet, or army; "and the Ruſſians, ſatisfied with their ſucceſs, have "no occaſion to enter into a recital of particulars, "which might leſſen the glory or difficulty of their "atchieve-

publication of theſe Memoirs, was the world acquainted with the real weakneſs of that important paſſage, the facility of forcing it, or the ſingular exertions of its diſtinguiſhed defender. His labours, his firmneſs, and perſeverance, in overcoming every obſtacle, in braving the moſt inveterate prejudices, in conquering, and ſubmitting to his will, the ſtupid pride, the fanaticiſm,

" atchievements. Such information can only be ob-
" tained near the ſcene of action, and will " un-
" doubtedly be hereafter communicated," either by
" ſome one of the moſt curious and intelligent of the
" European Miniſters at the Porte, or of thoſe fo-
" reign officers who ſerved on the Danube. For
" ſuch curious and uſeful inquiries or details, we
" have been more indebted to the induſtry of the
" French Miniſters and Secretaries, for above a cen-
" tury paſt, than to thoſe of all the other nations in
" Europe."—And in another place, " As the Turks
" give no detail of their military tranſactions, and
" the Ruſſians only ſuch a one as is ſuited to the me-
" ridian of their own people, no regular account is
" to be expected, until ſome future Manſtein, among
" their foreign officers, ſhall get free from the
" ſhackles of power, and give an account of things
" as they really are." As far as the circumſtances admit, the reader will draw the parallel, and make the application.

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the obſtinacy, the jealouſy, of this infatuated people; and, above all, their contempt and hatred of the Chriſtians.—The unalterable confidence repoſed in him by the Grand Signior, juſtified by the moſt aſtoniſhing ſucceſs in this defence, as well as in his ſubſequent proceedings, form, altogether, a ſeries of particulars unexampled in hiſtory. By the force of his own genius, aided only by the *Memoirs of Saint Remy*, and the *Encyclopedia*, Mr. de Tott learnt himſelf, and taught his dangerous pupils to caſt and bore cannon, to employ their artillery, and to make pontoons. He changed their arms, their evolutions, their diſcipline, their principles of ſhip building, and fortification; he founded different ſchools, and was himſelf at once the mechanical workman, and the guide and inventor of theſe various reforms.

His account of the Tartars would at all times have been extremely curious, but is more particularly ſo at this moment, as it is perhaps the laſt glance we ſhall have of that ancient and intereſting people, as a diſtinct and independent nation. Ruſſia is

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now in complete poſſeſſion of the Crimea, from whence ſhe is already making naval armaments; and from the rapid progreſs made in one century, in arts and arms, by that vaſt empire, it may be conjectured, without any extraordinary ſtretch of imagination, that the beautiful and happy ſituation, and immenſe population of the Tauric Cherſoneſus, will prove in her hands, the ſource and inſtrument of conſiderable, and perhaps, not very diſtant revolutions. In this part of the Memoirs, there is a rich feaſt for the philoſopher and politician.—They will here find, amongſt an infinite variety of new and intereſting materials, a number of European cuſtoms, which certainly have not travelled eaſtward, our ancient feudal ſyſtem, and a pretty correct model of Engliſh legiſlature, with an improvement on the democratical part of that celebrated inſtitution, revived by the people of America, in ſeveral of their new conſtitutions; I mean, the inſuring to the people the meeting of the deliberative branch of the legiſlature, independent of the executive power; as we ſee that the Bey of the Chirins, in the Tartar conſtitution, could

could convoke the assembly of the other Beys, even if the Kam, like Charles the First, should be disposed to dispense with this necessary controul. Thus has modern foresight supplied, what has probably been lost in the descent from the original authors of this, as well as other usages of the northern nations.

Notwithstanding our author has been obliged to tread over beaten ground in the latter part of the third volume, the reader will find it replete with new and ingenious remarks and discussions; and as a commercial nation, England cannot with an indifferent eye, view her rivals in possession of the whole commerce of the Levant, nor the unremitted attention she continues to bestow on this important source of her wealth and prosperity. Happy too, if she could be prevailed on to take a lesson from the political conduct of her powerful and rising neighbour. She would not then continue to hazard her interests, and lessen her consequence in the eyes of Europe, by sending a Ch——d to represent her policy at the Court of one of the first branches of the

the Houſe of Bourbon, whilſt ſhe has the example of France, deputing a De Tott, to reſide with the Kam of the Tartars, and to negociate with the Confederates of Poland *.

The Tranſlator has taken the liberty of pronouncing with much confidence on the fidelity of theſe Memoirs, if it were poſſible to entertain a doubt, from the circumſtance of his being honoured with the perſonal acquaintance of the Baron de Tott †, and

* It is a certain fact, although not generally known, that the Duke de Choiſeul, the ſame Miniſter who ſent M. de Tott on his miſſion to the Tartars, employed the Baron de Kaalb, in the year 1765, ſoon after the laying of the fatal Stamp Act, to ſound the diſpoſitions, and tamper with the American leaders. The ſame Baron de Kaalb remained twelve months in that country, and until the wiſe meaſure of the repeal, by the Rockingham adminiſtration. He returned to America, however, at the commencement of hoſtilities, and loſt his life fighting under General Gates, at the memorable battle of Camden.

† The chagrin of the Court of Ruſſia on being made acquainted with the ſtate of the defence, when their fleet was off the Dardanelles, muſt be very great.

M. de

and the opportunities he has had of converſing with Mr. Rufin *, a man of the ſtricteſt

M. de Tott informed the Tranſlator, that after the concluſion of the peace, he met with Prince Repnin, whom he had formerly known at Warſaw, on his arrival in quality of Ruſſian Ambaſſador at Conſtantinople: dining together, with the other foreign Miniſters, at le Comte de St. Prieſt's, the Prince was congratulated on the return of peace, and his appearance at the Porte; on which, turning to M. de St. Prieſt, with a ſarcaſtic air, he ſaid, "We ſhould have arrived here much ſooner, if M. de Tott would have permitted us." The time and place, which ſhould have precluded the remark, permitted M. de Tott only to reply, "Your Excellency does me too much honour; I do aſſure you that I only went to the Dardanelles to ſee your fleet paſs." The Ambaſſador ſoon had the mortification to aſcertain the truth on which this repartée was founded.

* Mr. Rufin was made a priſoner by the Ruſſians in a ſecond inroad of the Tartars, under Dewlet-Gueray, ſucceſſor to Krim-Gueray; and after being deprived of all his papers, was kept confined twelve months, under pretence of his not being a Frenchman, although he was known to be Chargé d'Affaires, after the departure of the Baron de Tott.—A Ruſſian officer reproaching him one day with having directed the artillery of Kotchim for the Turks, Mr. Rufin aſked him what execution it had done in the Ruſſian camp? "We had one man, and four horſes killed," replied the Ruſſian.—"I leave you to judge, then," ſays

ſtricteſt veracity, and the moſt correct underſtanding, who was Secretary Interpreter to the Baron, when amongſt the Tartars, and has lived alſo in Turkey; and from his intimacy

ſays Mr. Rufin, whether the cannon were pointed by a Frenchman."

A noble inſtance of female tenderneſs and Turkiſh cruelty, which the Tranſlator had from Mr. Rufin, deſerves to be recorded.—In the firſt inroad into New Servia by Krim-Gueray, the account of which is given in theſe Memoirs, the Kam, anxious, as far as he was able, to alleviate the horrors of that ſpecies of war to which the Tartars are accuſtomed, and deſirous, as we have ſeen, of preſerving the Poliſh territory from violation, appointed inſpectors to viſit all the waggons, and tents, and gave orders for all the perſons who were taken for the purpoſe of carrying them into ſlavery, to be brought for examination to theſe inſpectors. One of thoſe barbarous Turkiſh Sipahis, ſo well characterized by Mr. de Tott, came riding up to Mr. Rufin, in conſequence of this regulation, and demanded, if he was one of the perſons appointed to receive the ſlaves? Mr. Rufin ſeeing him with four infants in his arms, and, to uſe his own expreſſion, when ſpeaking of it to the Tranſlator, which he could compare to nothing but a birds neſt this ruffian had juſt been robbing, humanely anſwered in the affirmative; the barbarian cried out, "Take them," and throwing them with violence from his horſe,

intimacy with Mr. Du Rocher, a gentleman of the moſt amiable manners, and great honour, who has long faithfully ſerved his Court, as Conſul at Tripoli, and Tunis, underſtands perfectly the Turkiſh language, has travelled through Egypt, and other parts of the Ottoman dominions, and is well acquainted with the cuſtoms and manners of Conſtantinople.

It is with concern that the Tranſlator has obſerved in *Dodſley's Annual Regiſter* for 1773, a work of great and merited reputation, and which will certainly furniſh the beſt materials for future hiſtorians, an account of the Baron de Tott, equally untrue and injurious to his honour and reputation. The paſſage is founded on a miſ-

horſe, rode off full gallop. The ground was fortunately covered with ſnow, that the poor infants received no hurt. Mr. Rufin was embarraſſed, no doubt, with this preſent, but not diſcouraged from the duties of humanity; with much difficulty he found the parents of three of them, and the fourth was taken by a poor woman, who was ſufficiently encumbered with children of her own, but having formerly loſt an infant in the ſame way, chearfully embraced and adopted the loſt innocent.

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take, pardonable, 'tis true, from the obscurity of the narratives of the day, and the extreme difficulty ſtated by the Editor, of aſcertaining facts, in the war between the Turks and Ruſſians, but which the Tranſlator has no doubt but he will readily embrace the opportunity of correcting, from his known candour, and love of truth, in the next volume of his moſt uſeful hiſtory. The Baron, indeed, is not named, but the alluſion is too pointed to admit of doubt; beſides that, his name is mentioned in the volume for 1774, page 6. of the *Hiſtorical Part*, in his account of the victory gained over the Reis Effendi, on the 20th of June, wherein the fine train of artillery taken by the Ruſſians, is truly ſaid to have been "caſt under the directions of the *Chevalier de Tott*." The paſſage is as follows:—"*A French Renegado*, who had been the Conſul to that "nation at the Dardanelles, and had "baſely fixed the ſtigma upon his coun- "try, of producing the firſt public officer "belonging to any Weſtern State, who "had abandoned Chriſtianity, to embrace "Mahometaniſm, formed a kind of mili-

"tary

" tary ſchool, under the ſanction and im-
" mediate inſpection of the Grand Signior,
" which in the preſent diſpoſition of the
" Turks, may be productive of ſome ef-
" fect. This man, having a competent
" degree of mathematical knowledge, and
" being well verſed in the management of
" artillery, had been employed, *prior to*
" *his apoſtacy*, in repairing the caſtles, and
" erecting new fortifications at the Dar-
" danelles; ſo that, independent of the
" defence of a fleet, that paſſage might,
" from its own ſtrength, be rendered im-
" practicable to the Ruſſians. That ſer-
" vice having been performed to the ſatis-
" faction of the Porte, and *this adventurer*
" *being now become its ſubject*, he under-
" took the inſtruction of the Turkiſh en-
" gineers, and attended to this office with
" ſuch aſſiduity, that, it is ſaid, he has
" already accompliſhed a ſurprizing im-
" provement in the management of their
" artillery."

The fact is, that the Baron de Tott never was Conſul at the Dardanelles; but the Vice-Conſulſhip, *a poſt of no ſort of conſequence*,

quence, was then held by a very low perſon, of the name of Guys; who apprehending the reſentment of the French Ambaſſador, for ſome offence he had committed, baſely aſſumed the turban; and was, in conſequence, thoroughly deſpiſed, as all renegadoes are by the Turks, as well as his own countrymen *. The reſt of this

* Mr. de Tott has ſtated to the tranſlator the impracticability of the Turks receiving any eſſential permanent inſtructions from the Europeans, on this very principle, viz. that the inſtant their inſtructor becomes a Mahometan, he is looked upon as a fellow ſubject, and is reduced to a level with themſelves, beſides the contempt naturally attending a forced converſion; and if he remains a Chriſtian, he has inſuperable obſtacles to overcome, even with the unuſual and improbable protection and firmneſs of a Sultan Muſtapha. Amongſt others, the famous Mr. De Bonneval, whoſe hiſtory made ſo much noiſe at the beginning of this century, may be rated as an example of the truth of this obſervation. No Chriſtian can ever be more reſpectably ſituated than Mr. De Tott, yet even his regulations produced only a momentary effect, and are already fallen into decay. On this ſubject, it may not be improper to add the two following anecdotes:—

One of the beſt officers of the King of Pruſſia, tempted by various reports in the European Gazettes, of the lucrative and advantageous ſituations to be obtained

this man's hiſtory, which the Tranſlator had from the Baron de Tott, and Mr. du Rocher, is not worth relating. The Baron, indeed, laughed at the paſſage when it was ſhown

obtained at the Porte, without any trouble, by an officer of merit, ſet out for Conſtantinople with the beſt poſſible certificates, the teſtimonial of that great Captain his royal maſter. On his arrival he preſented himſelf to the Envoy, communicating to him his intentions of diſciplining, and commanding the Turkiſh troops. The Envoy endeavoured to convince him of his error, and to diſſuade him from his project, aſſuring him that his ſervices could not be accepted. "What," ſays the officer, "is not Mr. De Tott, at this very hour, employed and making a fortune under them." "Let us wait on that gentleman," replies the Envoy, "ſince you will not be convinced by me, and you will then hear his account of the matter." They called on the Baron, who confirmed the Envoy's obſervations, by the moſt ſtriking facts, aſſuring him, amongſt other circumſtances, *that he had never received a farthing from the* Porte, nor any other appointment than that of his own Court. Still he is not ſatisfied.—He addreſſes himſelf directly to the Porte, and obtains an audience of the Reis Effendi, who after liſtening to all his recommendations, very coolly anſwered him: "all this is very well, but there is one little requiſite you ſeem to have forgot." "What is that?" demanded the officer;—"only the trifling ceremony of becoming a Mahometan." The officer with great warmth

ſhown him; but on the Tranſlator's repreſenting to him the work, with the reſpect it merits, he was not ſo indifferent to honeſt fame, as not to wiſh to call upon the juſtice

warmth cites Mr. De Tott, as a proof that a Chriſtian may be employed. "Aye," ſays the Miniſter, "that is very true, and appears to us all very aſtoniſhing; but that is no ſort of rule,—the Grand Signior chooſes it ſhould be ſo, and we muſt obey him; but I tell you once more, that it is an example, which will not be repeated—Mr. De Tott's is a very extraordinary caſe." It is unneceſſary to add, that the officer was not employed.

The other anecdote is of the Swediſh Envoy, who zealouſly intereſted himſelf at all times, in favour of Mr. De Tott's regulations. Converſing one day with one of the firſt Miniſters of the Porte, on that ſubject, he aſked him, whether he had not made great improvements? "Yes," replies the Miniſter, "but"—"But what," ſays the Envoy, giving ſome recent inſtance of his ſkill, "is not that ſurpriſing?" "Yes truly," reſumed the Miniſter drily, "but what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, is, that he is ſtill alive." The Envoy flew to Mr. De Tott, related the converſation, and the manner in which this was ſaid, conjuring him to be on his guard; and above all not to drink coffee with them when he waited on the Miniſters. Mr. De Tott thanked him for his fears, but obſerved, that his ſafety lay in the terrors of the Miniſters themſelves, and the favour and protection of the Grand Signior, adding, that if they dared to attempt

juſtice of the Editor, that his honour may be vindicated to the Engliſh nation, and to Europe, through the ſame reſpectable channel by which it has been unintentionally wounded. The Tranſlator, therefore, in his name, and for the credit of the work itſelf, lays claim to juſtice in that particular, leaving "the competency of the Baron's mathematical knowledge," and other qualifications, to be determined by the judgment of the readers of theſe Memoirs. However he may value his ſcientific reputation, nothing is ſo dear to the Baron de Tott as his perſonal honour *.

PARIS,
March 16, 1785.

tempt his life, no precaution he could take, would inſure it, beſides that betraying ſuch an apprehenſion, was the moſt probable means of ſuggeſting the idea.

* Mr. De Tott is in poſſeſſion of a curious *French poem*, from the *Royal Preſs at Moſcow*, wherein amongſt a variety of *barbarous* epithets, in *barbarous* verſe, he is alſo portrayed as a purchaſed renegado. How frail is fame, and how ineffectual the exertions of an active and uſeful life, when we conſider that hiſtory is not unfrequently obliged to decorate her dignity, with the vileſt trappings!!

P A R T 3.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

HISTORY appears, at the firſt glance, to preſent us with nothing but a ſcene of horror, where the victims are brought upon the ſtage, only to throw a luſtre on thoſe executioners of mankind, who ſacrifice them to their paſſions, but it lays before us at the ſame time the valuable deſcription of manners; and that part of Hiſtory will appear undoubtedly the moſt intereſting, when we conſider that a nation is governed by its ancient cuſtoms, as the conduct of an individual is guided by his perſonal character. From what more fertile ſource can we derive a perfect knowledge of mankind, or learn to govern them?

In this point of view, Hiſtory ought to form a moſt intereſting object of attention in the policy of all governments: it will there be ſeen, that cuſtoms, by creating and modifying, inſenſibly, their manners, form, in every part of the world, the great ſpring by which mankind are put in motion. Cuſtoms lay the foundation of, and

produce the great Revolutions of Empires; they form the ſtructure, and either enſure its ſtability, or undermine it by degrees; and are the cauſes of its total deſtruction. The ſlowneſs of the approach conceals the progreſs of the evil; and its fatal advances are unperceived until the moment when he, who could apply the remedy, receives himſelf a ſtroke he is unable to repel without that force of which he is no longer maſter.

If we leave in obſcurity thoſe torrents of robbers, who, in ravaging the earth, have trampled under foot thoſe ſmall ſocieties which aſſumed the pompous title of Empires; if we except too ſome petty ſtates, who, after increaſing the population of infant Rome, carried the reputation of her arms ſo far as to procure the ſubmiſſion of ſeveral countries by the ſimple ſummons of her heralds, no powerful nation has ever really fallen from the attack of a foreign enemy; no empire, firmly eſtabliſhed, has ever been overthrown by the fate of an unfortunate battle. Greece, enſlaved by the Romans; Rome, herſelf, deſtroyed by the Barbarians, fell leſs a ſacrifice to foreign force, than to her own internal weakneſs.

This

This truth has no need of examination: it is perhaps the only point which Hiſtory, in treating of the riſe and fall of ancient empires, has illuſtrated completely. But why may not an inquiry into their reigning manners and cuſtoms, ſerve to elucidate the Hiſtory of thoſe people who have not even preſerved any tradition of their own? Their manners will be, with reſpect to them, what the Parian marbles have been for the Greeks, but a monument undoubtedly of greater value. We have only to decypher the characters. The ſpirit of each nation will ſerve in the ſtead of its ancient inſcriptions; and we ſhall there diſcover the type of thoſe great events which muſt have happened in former ages. ——Thoſe nations, whoſe manners appear the moſt refined, muſt for that reaſon have undergone more frequent revolutions; and we may conclude, that the people, who diſcover in their manners only thoſe effects which ariſe from the natural influence of climate, have never been ſubdued. In fact, if we conſider deſpotiſm as exerciſed now under the torrid zone, and again towards the polar circle, is it poſſible to attribute the manners of any nation to the

ſole influence of climate? If we ſuppoſe that the republican principle was prior to that of deſpotiſm, how can the latter have totally obliterated every trace of ancient liberty? Such revolutions, however, have covered the ſurface of the globe, and appear to be the real cauſe of that variety of manners which ſo far diſtinguiſh, at this day, the reſpective nations, as to occaſion a viſible alteration in the natural and primitive features of all human ſocieties. Bring together a Manchou and a Baſs-Arabian Tartar, you will ſearch in vain the interval of fifteen hundred leagues that ſeparates their countries: the climate differs but little; the government is the ſame. Then conſider the Greek and the Turk, whoſe habitations touch; you will there recover the fifteen hundred leagues that you had loſt; yet they live under the ſame ſky, and under the ſame conſtitution. Let the Arab, who, under the burning tropic, goes to refreſh himſelf at the cataracts of the Nile, take place of the Manchou, to the north of China, he will there exhibit more moral analogy with the Tartar than he did with the Egyptians, his countrymen; but let him paſs the River Amur, and

and he will form a ſtriking contraſt with the Ruſſian ſoldier. And, in purſuing this inquiry, the influence of government will appear more diſtinctly marked on the characters of individuals, than that of climate: we ſhall perceive moral, conſtantly prevailing over natural, cauſes, and giving the ſolution of thoſe various ſhades of difference, which appear the moſt difficult of explanation.

It is by conſidering, in this point of view, the deſcendants of Patroclus and Achilles, that one perceives that under the influence of the ſame climate, the deſpotiſm that has cruſhed the later Greeks, ſubdued formerly by Alexander, although it has marked them with the character of ſlavery, has not been able to efface the outlines of that religious puſillanimity which overturned the empire of the Greeks. It is thus, that by remounting to the ancient period of Grecian glory, we ſhall find in the principles of her early governments, the correctives of that climate, which invites its inhabitants more to enjoy, than to be indifferent about life. The weakneſs of the lower empire could not fail to enervate thoſe minds which had been

been influenced in former times by the exalted motives of glory, liberty, and virtue; and it is under the yoke of the present tyrants, that natural causes must resume their empire. These natural causes must necessarily predominate, if not opposed by moral obstacles; and despotism destroys them. This government too has less influence than any other on the multitude which it oppresses;—the principal instruments of the oppression of the people, constitute its main spring and support.

If the climate which the Turks inhabit relaxes their fibres, the despotism under which they groan transports them to violence. They are not unfrequently ferocious;——their system of predestination adds to their fierceness; and the same prejudice that in a cold climate would have rendered them courageous, in a hot one produces nothing but fanaticism and rashness *; the burning fever which elevates their

* The Turks furnish continual proofs of this assertion, in their quarrels with one another. Drunkenness is the necessary preparative for vengeance. Assassination is the only method they employ; they face no danger in cold blood. An Ottoman army once attacked,

their brain, makes them deſpiſe every thing that is not Turkiſh; and from that mode of reaſoning with themſelves, pride and ignorance are the natural reſult. It is for this reaſon, that in the very cradle of the arts, in the country of Pericles, of Euclid, and of Homer, the ſciences are ſpoken of, at this day, only with a ſneer of contempt.

But notwithſtanding all men are attracted by renown, and are invariably put in motion by ſelf love, although their object be not immediately the ſame; and the Turks are perhaps the only men who have made choice of murder as the road to fame, without poſſeſſing energy of mind ſufficient to commit it in cold blood. Whilſt the climate diſpoſes to weakneſs on the one hand, and deſpotiſm urges to violence on

attacked, is broken to pieces without being beaten; but the firſt ſhock of the Turks, when they are determined to make the firſt attack, is always dangerous and difficult to ſuſtain. At the affair of Grotſka, to get poſſeſſion of a redoubt, they heaped the ditches with their dead; and fanaticiſm carried ſome of them ſo far in the laſt war againſt the Ruſſians, as to make them brave the fire of the artillery by ruſhing, like madmen, to hack with their ſabres the mouths of the enemy's cannon.

the

the other, intoxication becomes neceſſary to give them vigour; and, to perpetrate a crime with them, is to raiſe themſelves to a level with their deſpot.

By reflecting on the connection between the manners and cuſtoms of every nation, its climate, and preſent form of government, and by obſerving with attention the different traces of their antient governments, one cannot help beholding with horror the thoughtleſs multitude always leaning to the defective ſide, and invariably preſerving the inſtruments of their own moral deſtruction.

Is it poſſible not to diſtinguiſh clearly this effect on the moſt celebrated of all people, at this day the laſt of nations, although it be even now the moſt numerous and moſt univerſally diſperſed? The Jews, who cover the earth with their induſtry, without having preſerved any legitimate right of poſſeſſion, ſubmitting to the impulſions of every government where they are to be found, ſtill retain, in the midſt of thoſe different governments, a ſhadow of their ancient theocracy, in the exerciſe of a kind of tolerated municipality; and which alone is capable of feeding that ſtupid

ſtupid pride, that renders them inſenſible to inſult. The Jews carry this inſenſibility even into cold and mountainous countries, where the human race, ſtrongly conſtituted, is always courageous, and often vindictive. Moral habits always prevail over natural cauſes, except when tyranny, or the abuſe of liberty, reſtores them to all their rights.

If, in order to weigh more minutely this laſt aſſertion, we undertake to confront the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of all nations, with their reſpective hiſtories, it will be neceſſary, no doubt, amidſt the croud of intereſting events, to draw a line between thoſe which have only tranſiently affected them, and ſuch as have been followed by the incorporation of the victors and the vanquiſhed. Torrents only ſweep before them the ſurface of the earth, without impairing the ſoil:—this diſtinction is eſſential, that we may not confound a madman who over-runs Aſia to ſubjugate the earth after having laid it waſte, with Alexander building Alexandria, to give a center to the univerſe, and to unite the two hemiſpheres of the globe. It is not leſs important to obſerve the nature of the

conquered country, ſo as to diſtinguiſh the inhabitants of the mountains, who are never thoroughly reduced, from thoſe of the plains, who are always eaſily ſubdued. In this point of view, there is not even a kingdom, there is not even a province, where the people do not eſſentially differ, although confounded under the ſame denomination. We ſhall very eaſily diſtinguiſh too, amongſt them, the different effects even of the ſame form of government; and this difference will eternally exiſt. Man has an invincible tendency to liberty; the moment that he diſcovers the poſſibility of enjoying, he determines to obtain it: in a hilly country, he preſerves an independence which the ſituation favours; accuſtomed to climb the mountains, he traverſes them with eaſe, and it is from their ſummit that he braves that power, to which the inhabitant of the plain is as ſubmiſſive from cuſtom, as from the nature of the country, and in which eaſe and plenty conciliates his ſubjection; whilſt on the other hand, the hardy mountaineer finds, in the charm of liberty alone, an ample compenſation for the wants and fatigues inſeparable from his ſituation.

In

In travelling along the coaſt of Syria, we ſee deſpotiſm extending itſelf over all the flat country, and its progreſs ſtopt towards the mountains, at the firſt rock, at the firſt defile, that is eaſy of defence; whilſt the Curdi, the Druſi, and the Mutuali, maſters of Libanon, and Anti-Libanon, conſtantly preſerve their independence, their manners, and the memory of the famous Facardin. The Macedonians formerly ſubdued, could not eaſily have been ſo; but in their plains and their mountains muſt have afforded them as ſure an aſylum againſt the tyranny of the Romans, as they ſtill furniſh them at this day againſt the Ottoman yoke. No revolution therefore has impaired, among this hardy race, the influence of climate. From the days of the hero of Greece, without any intermediate epocha, indefatigable huſbandmen, and as brave as they are laborious, always united in defence of the common cauſe; and each individual finding in himſelf reſource ſufficient to revenge a perſonal injury, they ſtill chaunt the victories of Alexander, with the certainty of again obtaining freſh ones, over the firſt enemy they encounter.

There

There is no nation on which ſo much has been written as on the Turks; and no prejudices more readily believed than thoſe which are adopted on the ſubject of their manners. The voluptuouſneſs of the eaſtern nations, the delirium of happineſs they enjoy, ſurrounded by many women, the beauty of thoſe who people their pretended ſeraglios, their intrigues and gallantries, the courage of the Turks, the nobleneſs of their actions, their generoſity——what an accumulation of errors! even their juſtice has been quoted as a model. But how is it poſſible, ſays Monteſquieu, that the moſt ignorant of all people can have ſeen clearly, in the circumſtance in the world, which it behoves them the moſt to underſtand?

This objection could not eſcape the eye of genius. Mr. de Monteſquieu might have equally denied the Turks that delicate voluptuouſneſs, and the principles of that greatneſs of mind, and generoſity, which they have been ſuppoſed to poſſeſs. He might have perceived that an unenlightened nation can contribute nothing to its own happineſs, becauſe its ignorance partakes

takes of a principle, which conſtantly deſtroys, without ever being productive.

An individual in France or England, if he be rich, though ignorant, may there enjoy a kind of happineſs which will flatter his imagination. His miſtreſs ſhall be amiable; he ſhall even find ſeveral who agree together; his houſe ſhall be elegantly furniſhed; he ſhall be well dreſſed, and have a handſome equipage; and the practice of borrowing the ideas of others, ſhall conceal even his ignorance. He is like an opaque body in the midſt of a great maſs of light. In an enlightened nation, riches procure every thing: to an ignorant people they are ſo much the more a burthen, as having no method of employing them, they content themſelves with hoarding; men apply themſelves more eagerly to the art of amaſſing wealth, when the impoſſibility of enjoying it leaves them only the barren reſource of accumulation.

But riches alone are not ſufficient to procure a man the true enjoyment of his fortune. There are but few happy men in the claſs of opulence, becauſe it is more eaſy to abuſe, than to make a proper uſe of riches. This is perhaps the only inſtance where

where ignorance adopts the ſimpleſt method; yet it cannot be denied, that knowledge is as neceſſary to true enjoyment, as temperance is to health. If theſe reflections naturally occur to every man who can and will reflect, how happens it that a commercial intercourſe of two centuries betwixt Europe and the Turks, ſhould be productive only of falſe notions reſpecting them; and why ſhould the reader, who really ſearches after knowledge, beſtow more credit on the preſent, than on any former narrative? What are my particular claims to credibility?

But theſe are obſervations which never occurred on the ſubject of the pretended letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague. They pleaſed, and that was enough for the author; and too often this is all the reader looks for. The ſtory of a Cady's head, offered by a Janiſſary to that Ambaſſadreſs, inſtead of ſome pigeons which ſhe had deſired, cannot fail of entertaining more than an account of the death of the three favourites of the Sultan Mahomout*, whom that

* Sultan Mahomout had beſtowed all his confidence on Kiſlar Aga, who, in his turn, truſted every thing

that Prince was obliged to ſacrifice, to atone for an inſult offered to another Cady.

In the former ſtory the ridiculouſneſs of the circumſtance is concealed by its gaiety, whilſt the latter preſents nothing but an

thing to a young Turk of the name of Soliman, and he gave himſelf up entirely to Zacoub, an Armenian banker; this triumvirate ſtudied every thing which could excite and contribute to the Sultan's pleaſures, by which means theſe favourites gratified their rapaciouſneſs, and confirmed their credit. They had the entire government of the empire, and every office was ſold to the beſt bidder; a whiſper from them diſpoſed of the moſt inconſiderable employment. Arrived at length, at that pitch of inſolence which cannot bear the ſlighteſt contradiction, one of their creatures had the boldneſs to threaten, with his whip, the Judge of Scutary, who raiſed his voice and appealed to Juſtice. His houſe was, in conſequence, deſtroyed in the night; but this method of ſilencing the complaint; produced ſuch diſcontents, that ſome new fire broke out every day at Conſtantinople. A ſingular method of compelling the Sovereign's attention, but which was ſo ſucceſsful, as to determine the Grand Signor to order the heads of his favourites to be taken off, and as they had inſtructed him in the habits of varying his pleaſures, he aſſiſted in perſon at the execution of the young Soliman, and of Zacoub; Kiſlar Aga was executed in Leander's Tower.

example

example of the abuſes of deſpotiſm, and the weakneſs of the deſpot, at which humanity ſhudders.

There is nothing ſo common when one is unacquainted with the language, as to adopt, and give falſe notions of the country where one travels; and that too, under a firm conviction that we are right, and with a moſt earneſt deſire of being minutely exact. After reflecting on Lady Montague's ſtory of her Janiſſary, her Cady, and her pigeons, I think I have diſcovered in the genius of the Turkiſh language and people, the ſolution of her error, notwithſtanding the literal tranſlation of the Janiſſary's anſwer, ſuppoſed to be given by her interpreter. In fact, it is not unlikely, that tired of ſearching for the pigeons, which are leſs taken care of, and more wild in Turkey, and rudely repulſed by the Cady; out of humour, perhaps, at the demands of the female traveller, he may have taken upon him to aſk, "if he ſhould bring the Cady's head?" And if, in addition to this anſwer, we figure to ourſelves an air and tone of impatience, it will appear really to convey more contempt for the Ambaſſadreſs than for the Judge; and

and this is, probably, what the interpreter did not faithfully tranſlate to Lady Mary Montague.

It is thus that travellers, deprived of the only means by which they can travel to effect, have publiſhed and given ſanction to numberleſs abſurdities, without meriting any other reproach than that of not being ſufficiently diffident of themſelves. I truſt that this judgment will appear moderate and impartial.

One remark, however, I muſt make, with reſpect to thoſe who put implicit confidence in that collection of reveries. To the reader who wiſhes to be amuſed with ſuch idle dreams, my obſervation will be uſeleſs. I addreſs myſelf to ſuch only as are really in ſearch of inſtruction. How is it poſſible to overlook the moſt palpable contradictions? Are there no certain rules for diſtinguiſhing the truth? Will you believe, becauſe you are told ſo, that a man with one arm has made uſe of both; or that a man with one eye ſees better by ſhutting it? If then you cannot give credit to ſuch monſtrous abſurdities, how can you be prevailed upon to imagine, tha thoſe faculties which alone can make men happy, are

are not totally deſtroyed by deſpotiſm? Admit for a moment this monſter in politics, obſerve well the conſequences, follow up the detail, combine its circumſtances, and it will be impoſſible any longer to deceive you, except in a few details of no importance, and the embelliſhments of the author. This, however, is of itſelf ſufficient to eſtabliſh and perpetuate innumerable errors. I might myſelf have committed the ſame fault, had I, in writing of the Turks, given way to thoſe ſentiments with which they have inſpired me. It is neceſſary not to decide partially, and to be diffident even of one's own judgment. With reſpect to myſelf, it is by living amongſt them three and twenty years, and under various circumſtances, that I have obtained a knowledge of their character *. It is from the manner, therefore, in which I have viewed them, that I have formed my opinions. To enable

* From the principles I have laid down on the neceſſity of knowing the language of any nation with which one wiſhes to be thoroughly acquainted, it cannot be ſuppoſed that I have neglected this moſt eſſential method of obtaining a knowledge of the Turks.

thoſe who really wiſh for information to judge for themſelves, I ſhall furniſh them with the ſame materials, by giving a faithful narrative of events, and placing them in the ſame point of view. The impreſſion the picture I am about to lay before them made, on myſelf, is of little importance.

This reflection has determined me to write only a Journal of what paſſed during my reſidence in Turkey, and in Tartary, and a narrative of my laſt voyage up the Levant; and I ſhall confine myſelf to ſuch obſervations as may be neceſſary to elucidate the facts, without even venturing on a detail of circumſtances, to which I was not myſelf a witneſs. To conſent to be ignorant, is an excellent method of obtaining knowledge; and when an Author allows that he is ſo, he puts in a ſtrong claim to the confidence of his reader. But this is by no means the ſyſtem of thoſe travellers who are anxious to conduct their readers into the inmoſt receſſes of the Seraglio, receſſes abſolutely impenetrable. To ſtudy their manners, the influence of their government and climate, and to examine their particular cuſtoms, theſe are the

the only means by which we can eſcalade the walls of the ancient Byzantium *. But of the various objects which merit our attention, amongſt ſuch a people as the Turks, is there none then ſo intereſting as the hiſtory of their women? Of what conſequence is it to mankind to be informed, that any individual, who from fortune and the prejudices of his country, has the free enjoyment of forty women, collects them together, and keeps them in a cage? In reading ſuch a deſcription, we can only lament the hard fate of this groupe of unhappy victims, and pronounce, without heſitation, that they are not very happy amongſt themſelves. But it is undoubtedly of ſome importance to ſtudy the effects of this extraordinary ſtate of things, which is as far removed as poſſible from the ſtate of nature. The ſlighteſt reflection will explain thoſe effects, and an enquiry into their manners, will confirm the reſult.

Having, from my ſituation, had few opportunities of ſpeaking of the Turkiſh

* The limits of the ancient Byzantium are at preſent entirely occupied by the Grand Signior's Seraglio.

women,

women, I have thought it neceſſary to attempt to rectify the erroneous ideas which prevail reſpecting them, by making ſome remarks on the plurality of wives, their manner of exiſting in that melancholy ſort of ſociety, and, in ſhort, on the abuſes which ariſe from the very circumſtance of that aſſociation.

I ſhall gratify at once my own impatience, and that of the public, by beginning with the ſubject; but if they are anxious to penetrate into the interior of the harems *, they will very ſoon be as deſirous as myſelf of getting out of them, to purſue, with me, an enquiry more worthy their attention.

The Coran, which forms a code of civil and criminal laws, as well as of morals and religious worſhip, and which, with the latitude of interpretation intruſted to the Judges, provides for every contingency,

* The word Harem, is ſtrictly confined to ſignify the apartments of the women, the incloſure appropriated to their uſe: it muſt never be confounded with Seraglio, which means a Palace. All the Turks have a Harem; the Viſir himſelf has no Seraglio.—The Ambaſſadors of crowned heads have each a Seraglio, but no Harem; the Grand Signior has both one and the other.

reſtrains

reſtrains the Turks to four wives *nikiahlus*, or married; but a Mahometan marriage is only a civil act, a contract executed before the Judge, who, in this caſe, officiates only as a common notary. The dowry, as well as the marriage-gift, the moſt important object, are ſpecified in this act, which are returned to her in caſe of repudiation, and this act they call *nikaih*.

There is another ſort of marriage too, which allots a ſpecific ſum to be reſtored, and fixes a given period for the ſeparation. This contract they call *kapin*; and is, properly ſpeaking, no other than a bargain between the parties, to live together for a certain time, for a certain ſum *.

By another law called *namekrem*, marriageable girls are forbid to uncover their

* Whenever one man has the privilege of taking and locking up forty women, the nine and thirty men who by this unfair diviſion are deprived of the ſweeteſt conſolations humanity is bleſſed with, neceſſarily require ſome attention. We find, in conſequence, that wherever a law has been made contrary to nature, another law becomes neceſſary to counteract it. From this we may deduce the origin of the marriages called *kapin*, of places of refuge for debtors, and foundling hoſpitals. Governments are like thoſe frenetic gameſters who are conſtantly beating themſelves, without correcting their errors.

faces,

faces, and married women, to any other than their husbands. This law is not very favourable, undoubtedly, to marriages of inclination. A Turk marries his neighbour's daughter, or widow, without knowing her. He has no other method of determining his choice, than from the report of his other wives, or of some mediatrix.

A moment's reflection is enough to show us, that the law of *namekrem* can never be so rigidly observed by the women of the lower class, who are constantly following their occupations, as by the opulent and inactive. The working man, therefore, has sometimes the advantage of his own eyes to direct his choice, as a compensation for the want of fortune, which puts it out of his power to avail himself of the right of plurality. Misfortune is generally balanced by some advantage. But the abuse of good fortune has not the same source of consolation.

Such is the case with the plurality of wives, which necessarily occasions unavoidable expences; and where is the man in a situation to support them?

Except-

Excepting thoſe who are in trade, and who, rich from their œconomy, ought not to be claſſed among the luxurious, the Turks arrive at opulence, only from public employments, obtained through the favour of the great, who have raiſed themſelves by the ſame means. Their fortune is merely perſonal, accumulated by rapaciouſneſs, hidden under ground on the ſlighteſt alarm, diſſipated in luxury, and fortuitouſly renewed; and their anxiety to acquire, and laviſh it, is ſharpened by the perpetual precariouſneſs of their ſituation.

The Turks ſeldom leave large fortunes to their children. Sums of money ſo conſiderable as to admit of being divided, would be temptations ſufficient for the graſping hands of the ſovereign, who would readily find a pretext in the manner by which they were acquired, to juſtify his violence, in making himſelf maſter of their wealth.

A Turk, therefore, cannot in general be rich enough to maintain a conſiderable harem, until he has obtained, through the favour of his patron, ſome place of great truſt;

truſt; and which becomes lucrative in proportion to his abuſe of authority.

Until that happens, confounded with the croud of young men, attached to the ſame maſter, from the ſame motives of ambition, reduced to the neceſſity of living only amongſt men, hurried on by the violence of his paſſions, ſeparated from the women, yet inflamed by their proximity even in yielding to her impulſe, he is obliged to deviate from nature.

We have already ſeen, that ſuch Turkiſh women as are not to be procured on any other terms than marriage, and are not previouſly to be ſeen, are under the ſame neceſſity of living amongſt themſelves. In ſuch a caſe, what muſt be their education? Born in opulence, they are either the daughters of a lawful wife, or of ſome ſlave, the favourite of a moment. Their brothers and ſiſters are of different mothers, who differ in no reſpect from ſlaves collected in the ſame houſe. Occupied only by that jealouſy which animates them, one againſt another, ſcarcely knowing how to read or write, and reading nothing but the Coran; expoſed in the hot baths to all the inconveniencies of a forced perſpiration,

on, too frequently repeated not to deſtroy the freſhneſs of their ſkin, and the grace of their contours, even before the age of puberty; indolent from pride, and often humbled by the inefficacy of the means practiſed under their eyes to gratify their proprietor; deſtined, in ſhort, themſelves to the ſame fate, without a hope of more ſucceſs, in what can ſuch women contribute to render the man happy who may chance to marry them? But it is not from that ſource that he looks for happineſs. Let us ſee then, whether he has made a better eſtimate of the advantage of multiplying thoſe ſlaves who have a right to chooſe; whom he may marry without ceremony; and over whom he poſſeſſes, no doubt, a more precious right—the right of reſtoring them to their freedom.

It is here that I wiſh to draw the attention to thoſe Georgian and Circaſſian ſlaves, whoſe beauty has been ſo often celebrated; and it is perhaps of more importance to aſcertain the laws of ſlavery in Turkey, where the manners are already culpable enough, without ſuffering a vague and erroneous opinion to add ſtill further to their atrocity.

Neither

Neither the Greeks, the Armenians, nor even the Jews, are more liable than the Turks, to a conſtitutional ſlavery. The deſpotiſm of the Sultan himſelf, however ſtrong his paſſion for her, does not enable him to take violent poſſeſſion of a young woman; and though the Grecian blood ſtill continues to produce as beautiful female forms as ſerved for models to Praxiteles, the Turkiſh annals do not furniſh an example of ſuch atrocious violence.

Georgia and Circaſſia are no more ſubject to ſlavery, than any other province more directly under the dominion of the Grand Signior *; but the want of lawful right is ſupplied by the right of conqueſt, which procured for the Turks near twenty thouſand ſlaves, who were carried off by the Kam of the Tartars from New Servia; the greateſt part of whom were reſtored to Ruſſia at the peace. *Krim Gueray*, who commanded that expedition, had, from the ſame principle of right, laid waſte

* Georgia is rather one of the dependencies of Perſia than of Turkey; but Prince Heraclius has availed himſelf of the troubles which have laid waſte the dominions of his ſovereign, to enjoy a ſort of independence.

Moldavia on a former occaſion, without reſpecting the Grand Signior's territory. The ſame right of war obtains in Turkey, when a whole revolted province is given up to pillage, and its inhabitants reduced to ſlavery. This is the *droit public*, or *jus publicum* throughout all Aſia; and it is on theſe barbarous principles that one half of the globe is ſtill governed, and that Georgia and Circaſſia continue to furniſh with ſlaves, the market of Conſtantinople *.

The incurſions of the Leſguis Tartars provide it with a regular ſupply: Theſe Tartars inhabit the country between the Caſpian and the Black Sea, between Georgia and Circaſſia; and are in a perpetual ſtate of warfare with theſe two provinces. They convey their ſlaves to the eaſtern coaſt of the Black Sea, and ſell them to the Turkiſh merchants, who reſort there at ſtated periods. The inhabitants of that coaſt carry off alſo their own coun-

* The idea attached to a handſome Georgian or Circaſſian ſlave, may be reduced to this;—all the ſlaves in Turkey who are tolerably beautiful, muſt be either Georgians or Circaſſians; but this, by no means, proves that they are all handſome.

trymen

trymen from the neighbouring villages, and make a trade of ſelling them; and it is aſſerted, that even the parents, not unfrequently, make a traffic of their own children.

A country colder from its mountainous ſituation, than from its latitude; inhabited by people, ſo wretched as to ſell their own offspring; ſo ill-regulated as to ſuffer them to be ſtolen; ſo weak as to become an eaſy prey to foreign plunderers, is not likely to poſſeſs in itſelf any ſort of refinement or education. The children, therefore, are the only ſlaves whoſe beauty can be cultivated, and who are capable of acquiring the graces. The avarice of the merchant will pay particular attention to this object; and he will even endeavour to increaſe the value of his ſlave, by ſome agreeable accompliſhment, and an indecent dance, accompanied by caſtinets, will be the ſtrongeſt recommendation.

Lady Mary Montague ſays, that theſe dances are voluptuous. For my own part, I have ſeen them in their higheſt perfection, performed by proficients in the art; yet, although I am at a loſs for a proper

term

term to characteriſe them, I ſhould never think of calling them voluptuous.

And, I may further add, that the women dancers are deſpiſed in Turkey; and that a ſlave, as ſoon as ſhe has pleaſed her maſter by this talent, ceaſes to exerciſe it.

So that, in fact, they only ſerve to awaken and excite the paſſions of thoſe machines, on whom indecency produces more effect than beauty. The graces, vivacity, and expreſſion, poſſeſs alone the art of ſeducing us, excluſive even of regularity of features; whilſt a liſtleſs dignity, a profound ignorance, give a certain inſipidity even to finiſhed beauty. And this is the effect which the Turkiſh women produce on their maſters.

I have had the opportunity of perſonal information from my Turkiſh friends, that except in the inſtance of ſome new ſlave, who may excite their curioſity, the harem inſpires them only with diſguſt. A great many Turks never enter their harem, but to reſtore tranquillity, when the female ſuper-intendant is unequal to the taſk; but let the puniſhment be ever ſo ſevere, it is impoſſible to eradicate the cauſes of this irregularity. Theſe diſorders, ariſing from the

the confinement and aſſemblage of many wives, are another conſequence of the law of plurality. Nature counteracted equally in either ſex, muſt neceſſarily lead both aſtray.

This excluſive ſociety of the women produces alſo this effect, that being conſtantly obſerved by their companions, they do not even endeavour to diſſemble, either their taſte or their jealouſy; they have only to conceal ther quarrels. Too fortunate, indeed, if nature calmed, gratified, and deceived, does not urge them to eſcape from their priſon, to run after the reality; an exceſs of which they are invariably the victims, and which I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention.

But, however the cuſtoms of the country may have reſtricted the Turkiſh women, it muſt not be imagined that they are without the power of ſending their ſlaves, or of going out themſelves, to purchaſe what they want; I do not know a ſingle Turk who deprives them of that liberty; nay, they very frequently go out together to walk, or pay a viſit in other harems; and in the latter caſe, the etiquette obliges the Turk, for whoſe wives the

the viſit is intended, not to enter his harem during the ſtay of the viſitants. But how many methods are there of evading this regulation ; and if the parties be well inclined, who is there to inſiſt on its being regularly obſerved ?

But becauſe the ſtreets are filled with women, who paſs freely to and fro on buſineſs, and the harems the moſt cloſely ſhut, are not unfrequently thrown open, to let the flock, confined in them, amuſe themſelves with a walk ; we muſt not thence conclude, with Lady Mary Montague, that the intrigues are carried on in the ſhops, into which the women ſometimes enter : they would there be too eaſily obſerved. It is in the country, in retired ſituations, on the borders of the ſea, that their gallantries actually take place ; heedleſs of the danger of being diſcovered by the guards, who are always prying into the moſt concealed retirements.

The *Boſtandgy Bachi*, whoſe authority always extends ſeveral leagues around the Grand Signior's reſidence, has, in fact, the inſpection of theſe ſo much talked of affairs of gallantry, and exerciſes, in that reſpect, the office of Lieutenant of Police.

It

It is the moſt important perquiſite of his employment, and is attended with the moſt frightful abuſes. But I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further of this in the courſe of my obſervations, and I have already ſaid enough of the Turkiſh women, to prepare my reader for what remains upon that ſubject.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

BARON de TOTT.

First Part.

THE death of Sultan Mahomout, and of M. D'Salleurs, determined the Court of France to ſend M. de Vergennes to Conſtantinople; and I was ordered to accompany him, to learn the language, and to ſtudy the manners and government of the Turks. We embarked at Marſeilles, in a veſſel freighted by the King, from whence we ſet ſail at the beginning of April, 1755; but contrary winds prevented us from reaching the Dardanelles until the 18th of May. Before we arrived at the Streight, we perceived a cara-

caravelle * belonging to the Grand Signior, at anchor oppoſite to Tenedos, and her felucca, which was ſent to reconnoitre, bearing down, and ſhe came up with us oppoſite the coaſt of Troy; but fearing the plague, we were deſirous of avoiding all communication with them. My late father, whom the King ſent with M. de Vergennes to Conſtantinople, where he had already been ſeveral times, and who ſpoke the language, prevailed on the Turks not to come on board, and thought it proper to reward the officer who commanded the felucca, with a few bottles of cordial: The cabin-boy who went to ſeek for this preſent, brought up ſix bottles of lavender water, and was ordered to rectify the miſtake; but my father declaring that it was perfectly the ſame thing, we gave them the lavender water, and parted company; but the impatience of the Turk ſoon attracted our attention: he ſeized on one of the phials, broke off the neck, emptied it at one draught, and turning round made us a ſign of approbation. We were all afraid, except my father, that the poor fellow

* A Turkiſh veſſel of war.

fellow would fall backwards; but were very ſoon made eaſy on his account, on ſeeing him open, and empty, a ſecond phial with the ſame tokens of ſatisfaction.

Very ſoon after we entered the Streight of the Dardanelles, and furled our colours, to avoid the ſalute from the caſtles, and the Captain Pacha *, whoſe fleet was at anchor off Gallipoli; and we caſt anchor at length in the port of Conſtantinople, the 21ſt of May, 1755.

This city, ſituated at the eaſtern extremity of Europe, near the Black Sea, is only ſeparated from Aſia by the Thracian Boſphorus. The canal which forms a communication between two ſeas, pours into the ſouthern part, the ſuperfluous waters which ruſh from the North into the Black Sea, and which its ſurface is unable to evaporate. To this effect, the currents are violent down the canal, and bear on the point of the Seraglio which forms a Cape, that divides, and intercepts one part of the waters, which, after having circulated in the harbour, return by the oppo-

* The Turkiſh Admiral.

ſite

ſite ſhore, and re-enter their former bed. It is owing to this mechaniſm of Nature, that the harbour of Conſtantinople is cleared of all its rubbiſh, and of the filth that is daily thrown into it. The ſea in this caſe operating for herſelf, what ignorance never could foreſee, and ſhips of eighty guns can lay a plank on the ſhore without any danger.

If the ambition of governing the univerſe ſearched for a ſituation the moſt favourable for eſtabliſhing a capital of the world, that of Conſtantinople, as repreſented on the map, would undoubtedly have the preference. Situated between two ſeas, this city would form at once the centre of the moſt uſeful productions, and of the moſt flouriſhing commerce, were it not for the preſſure of that deſpotiſm which, for twenty leagues around, breaks in pieces every inſtrument of culture, and of induſtry. Shut up within the limits of its ancient walls, Conſtantinople, on the land ſide, offers to the traveller nothing but the appearance of deſtruction; whilſt the navigator, placed in the centre of an immenſe amphi-theatre, ſeems to croud

from

from all parts to bring the tribute which the univerſe owes to its metropolis.

The ancient Byzantium, whoſe walls at preſent form the encloſure of the Grand Signior's Seraglio, ſituated on the extremity of the Cape which ſhuts in the harbour, preſents a foreſt of cypreſs trees, overtopped by an infinite number of leaden cupolas, enriched with golden balls, the whole forming a pyramid, with the tower of the Divan, which crowns the ſummit: This duſky groupe appears detached from the reſt of the landſcape, which is only varied by ſome large ſcattered buildings of too heavy an architecture for the ſurrounding objects.

The harbour, from the point of the Seraglio, to the freſh water *, renders one

* The ſmall river which falls into the ſea at the bottom of the harbour, and waters the Valley of Kiathana, is ſo called. The Grand Signior has a Kioſk in that valley; and Sultan Achmet, pretending to imitate Marly, invited all his Court to build on the two declivities which form the banks of the river; but theſe buildings were deſtroyed by the rebels who depoſed Sultan Achmet. The prejudices of the Turks, invariably at enmity with all European imitations, were the pretext for this deſtruction; the real motive was the love of plunder.

ſide

ſide of the triangle, formed by Conſtantinople, two thouſand toiſes longer than the others: on the oppoſite ſhore are immenſe ſuburbs, which, including the town of Galata, furniſh a landſcape, whoſe richneſs is ſtill further increaſed and varied by the continued chain of villages that join and are confounded together on the banks of the Boſphorus, even to within ſix leagues of the Black Sea. Theſe buildings are continued on the ſide of Aſia, and unite at Scutary; which place, ſituated three quarters of a league from the entrance of the harbour, offers to Conſtnatinople itſelf, a moſt intereſting proſpect. The boats that are continually traverſing the ſpace between the two towns, ſeem to form a junction, Europe with Aſia. Other veſſels are employed every morning to tranſport the inhabitants of the villages of the Boſphorus to their labours in the capital, by which they are maintained, and to convey them home every evening; beſides which, an infinite number of ſmaller boats are paſſing in every direction to ſupply the occaſional wants of the inhabitants; and if to this be added, the tranſport veſſels daily arriving with proviſions for the capital, from the

the Black Sea and the Archipelago, and the general activity of the foreign commerce that ſupplies this city with luxuries and cloathing from every quarter of the world, one can ſcarcely conceive the beauty of this perpetually moving picture.

But if nothing can equal the proſpect of Conſtantinople from without, the charm ſoon vaniſhes on entering the town: the greateſt part of the ſtreets ſo narrow, as that the projection of the roofs ſcarcely leaves admiſſion for the light; a pavement of pebbles badly taken care of; and no attention to cleanlineſs: theſe are amongſt the diſagreeable circumſtances of that capital. But I ſhall reſerve the particulars of other inconveniencies, as they occur occaſionally, and in ſucceſſion.

Convinced that the ſtudy of the Turkiſh language could alone give me an inſight into the manners and cuſtoms of that people, I made it my firſt object; and I would not liſten to thoſe who adviſed me to begin by reading the travellers who have treated on the oriental nations; for it ſtruck me, that I had more to apprehend from the danger of adopting their errors, than would com-

compenſate for any time and trouble they might ſave me.

My Turkiſh maſter began by teaching me to write, which is their method. The knowledge I had of drawing, helped me in my progreſs; at length I was able to read, and then my difficulties began to multiply: the ſuppreſſion of the vowels * is ſufficient to give an idea of my firſt embarraſſment, and of the difficult and irkſome taſk I had undertaken; but this is not all; the Turks, to ſupply the poverty of their language, have entirely adopted the Arabic and Perſian; and by compoſing five alphabets, the different characters of which are at the arbitrary diſpoſal of the writer, have thrown freſh obſtacles in the way of inſtruction; ſo that if the life of a man be ſcarcely ſufficient to learn to read well, what time will there remain for him to ſelect his authors, or to profit by what he has read?

* The vowels being only expreſſed by ſigns placed without the body of the writing, the writers leave them to be ſupplied by the ingenuity of the reader; from thence ariſe many literary diſputes on the conſonants, the uſe of which may change the ſenſe: but to avoid the danger of ſuch diſcuſſions of the Coran, that book is never written without vowels.

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The ignorance of the Turks in every thing that concerns the abſtract ſciences, muſt be attributed, in great meaſure, to this inconvenience: wholly occupied in painting well, and in decyphering their characters, their conceitedneſs gives them a turn for difficulties of that kind; a double meaning, the tranſpoſition of letters forms the extent of their ſtudies, and their literature; and every thing that can be inverted by falſe taſte, to fatigue the mind, conſtitutes their delight, and excites their admiration.

My language maſter, of Perſian extraction, and a great enthuſiaſt in poetry, uſed to get drunk indifferently with opium, or with brandy; and I paſſed two hours every day in this agreeable téte à téte. I employed myſelf particularly in making uſe of all the words I could ſtore up in my memory; and I was no ſooner able to underſtand him, than he aſked me one day, with great earneſtneſs, what ſmell it was he had perceived on entering my apartment? I ſhewed him a bottle of lavender water; and the example of the captain of the felucca induced me to conſent to make the ſacrifice which he deſired, without heſitation; and

and which he bore without ſuffering the ſlighteſt inconvenience. I did not think proper, however, to continue to ſupply him with ſo dangerous a draught.

My application to collect a number of words; and above all, my anxiety to employ them, enabled me, in a very ſhort time, to explain myſelf very tolerably; and I was already able to do without an interpreter, when M. de Vergennes gave orders to prepare an entertainment intended for the foreign miniſters, and all the Europeans ſettled at Conſtantinople. This excited the curioſity of ſome Turks of diſtinction, who were deſirous of being preſent; and I undertook to do the honours to them, the more readily from the freſh opportunity it afforded me of practiſing their language.

I was newly married, and the intimacy that ſubſiſted between the principal perſon amongſt thoſe Turks, and my father-in-law, added greatly to that favourable opinion with which my zeal for information had already inſpired him. On his arrival, he begged me to point out to him Madam de Tott from amongſt the ladies; and becoming very ſoon attentive to her moſt trifling

trifling motions, he followed her with his eyes, and appeared uneasy, if in the croud, she escaped an instant from his sight. Excepting this anxiety, the coup d'œil of the entertainment appeared totally to absorb my Turks, who put various questions to me on this new scene, not less amusing than instructive.

The ball is opened by a minuet; I am asked who is the gentleman that dances?—It is the Swedish Envoy. "What!" says the Turk to me with surprize, "the Envoy from Sweden?—The Minister of a Court in alliance with the Sublime Porte!—No, that is impossible.—You are mistaken;—look again." "I am not mistaken," said I, "it is he; yes, it is he himself." The Turk at length convinced, cast down his eyes, fell into reflection, and was silent until the end of that minuet, which was followed by another. A fresh question to know the dancer? "It is the Dutch Ambassador." "Oh! as for that," says the Turk, gravely, "I never will believe it. I know very well," continued he, "to what a heighth the Ambassador of France can carry his magnificence; and notwithstanding my surprize,

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I can carry that idea ſo far as to conceive that he is rich enough to make a miniſter of the ſecond order dance; but at what price can he obtain that ſervice from an Ambaſſador? There cannot, poſſibly, exiſt between them ſo enormous a difference." I made uſe of all the Turkiſh words I knew to explain to him, that theſe miniſters were the object of the entertainment; that they were not paid for that purpoſe, but danced for their pleaſure; and that the Ambaſſador of France himſelf would dance: with difficulty I convinced him. Another object, however, which he undoubtedly thought more intereſting, very ſoon occupied his attention. "I do not ſee your wife!" ſaid he, "Oh! yes; there ſhe is; but ſomebody is talking to her! Run and interrupt the converſation." "Why ſo?" ſaid I. He then explained himſelf more clearly; and I was endeavouring to ſatisfy him, when Madam de Tott, continuing her converſation, went into the room where the company was at play, and diſappeared. Seeing this, the Turk loſing all patience, riſes, and draws me after him. I ſuffered him to draw me along, and ſoon found that the ſight of

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ſeveral tables, where the men were diſputing about play, was not the ſpectacle with which his friendſhip had alarmed him on my account.

Supper was ſerved, and my friend ſeeing the company place themſelves at different tables, was inclined to go. An uneaſineſs of a more ſerious nature appeared to agitate him. I preſſed him to ſtay till the end of the entertainment. "Every thing finiſhed," ſaid he briſkly; "they are preparing to drink. Permit us to go; and if you will follow my advice, take your wife, and withdraw likewiſe." "I underſtand you," ſaid I; "but do not be uneaſy; every thing will paſs more peaceably than you imagine." I inſiſted upon it, and ſucceeded in conducting my curious friends around all the tables, and in making them ſit down at that which was prepared for them. A few glaſſes of cordial gave them courage, and completely gained them; they ſtaid till morning, and gave me to underſtand, that if ſuch an entertainment were to be given amongſt them, it would not terminate without thirty murders.

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The knowledge I began to acquire of their character, induced me to form ſuch connections as were capable of extending it. Amongſt thoſe whoſe acquaintance I more particularly cultivated, was Murad Mollach, of the family of Damat Zade, which from the period of the conqueſt of Conſtantinople, has, in every generation, given Muftis to the empire; and who was himſelf deſtined for that dignity. I ſhall very often have occaſion to ſpeak of this perſon; and the obſervations I ſhall make on him, will ſerve to elucidate the character of his nation.

To follow, as nearly as poſſible, the chain of events to which I have been a witneſs, let us caſt an eye on thoſe conflagrations which ravage Conſtantinople too frequently not to deſerve to be mentioned. I ſhall ſelect the moſt ſtriking inſtance of this kind; I mean the fire which conſumed two thirds of that immenſe city a ſhort time after our arrival.

The Palace of France, ſituated in the ſuburb of Pera, overlooks the town and harbour of Conſtantinople. The fire broke out in the morning near to the ſhore and the walls of the Seraglio. The wind, which

which was northerly, made the fire run along theſe walls; and about ſeven o'clock reached the Palace of the Viſir, ſituated on the middle of the hill. The Grand Signior was preſent; but neither his orders, nor the efforts which were made to prevent it, could ſave that vaſt building from the flames; and the focus which it formed gave new activity to them. The fire continued to extend itſelf in the direction of the wind, with the greateſt rapidity. We were in hopes, however, that in approaching the church of St. Sophia, the maſs of that building would ſtop the conflagration; and accordingly all the ſuccours were directed to that quarter, in expectation of ſtopping the progreſs of the flames; but the lead of the cupola, melted by the heat of the atmoſphere, running through the ſtone gutters on the heads of the guards and workmen, left a full ſcope to the activity of the fire. From that moment, nobody thought of ſtopping it; and it was ſuffered to devour every thing which fell in its way in the direction of the wind, as far as the walls of the Admiralty, on the other ſide of the hill. The conſternation was general; yet every one congratulated himſelf

at ſeeing the fire arrived at that period; when the wind ſhifting round with violence to the eaſt, carried that line of fire acroſs the town for more than twelve hundred toiſes, (or about ſeven thouſand eight hundred Engliſh feet;) the flames then ruſhing towards the center of the city, formed thirteen diſtinct branches of fire, the roots of which ſucceſſively uniting, Conſtantinople very ſoon became a burning ſea.

The efforts which were then made, inſtead of being ſerviceable, only added to the calamity: a whole regiment of Janiſſaries, employed in beating down ſome houſes, at the head of one of the branches, were ſurrounded by two lateral branches, of the fire. The cries of the unfortunate wretches conveyed through the column of fire, with thoſe of the women and children who were ſuffering the ſame fate; the craſh of the falling buildings; the crackling of the flaming planks, which were carried into the air by the violence of the heat; the tumult of the inhabitants, threatened by the conflagration in every quarter, and who, to ſecure themſelves from the moſt dreadful miſery, were expoſing their lives

lives to ſave a part of their effects; every thing conſpired to render it a ſcene, the accumulated horror of which is not to be deſcribed.

But it is ſtill more inconceivable, that the rebuilding of theſe houſes was not yet completed, before a freſh fire conſumed them, without the inhabitants having it in their power to uſe any precaution for their ſafety. Sultan Oſman, then upon the Throne, ſtrove in vain to enlarge ſome of the ſtreets, and open ſome new ones, to facilitate the neceſſary aſſiſtance: The proprietors joined in inſiſting on the entire poſſeſſion of the ground left them by their fathers. The government which had only known how to give orders when it was neceſſary to pay, was ſo weak as to give way to this oppoſition, which might have been ſo eaſily ſurmounted. Such is deſpotiſm.

It might have been foreſeen, that the robberies which are eaſily committed under the pretence of giving aſſiſtance to the houſes in the neighbourhood of the fire, had very often been the cauſe of thoſe conflagrations; and the government thinking to remedy that evil, by forbidding any perſon to endeavour to extinguiſh them until

the arrival of the principal officers, only contribute to increaſe it. It was, in fact, giving time to the flames to acquire activity. That law, therefore, was aboliſhed, the number of fire-engines augmented, and inſtead of being kept, as heretofore, at the houſes of the governors of each quarter, were diſtributed to the different guard-houſes, from whence the guards had orders to convey them on the firſt alarm. But what were the conſequences of this regulation? That the perſons who have the management of the engines, diſplayed their activity with no other view than to extort money for the protection of the unfortunate, and to play upon the croud for their amuſement; that the guards, familiarized with theſe diſaſters, make a ſport of them, and add to the public miſery, by ill treating the wretched ſufferers; that the workmen inconſiderately throw into the fire, inſtead of removing the materials, which feed the flame, and that the multitude are intent upon plundering on all ſides *.

The

* The law has condemned the robbers in this ſort of pillage to be thrown into the flames; but the habit

The Viſir, and all the great officers of the Porte, are obliged to appear on the ſpot, on the firſt intelligence of fire, to give the neceſſary directions. The Grand Signior himſelf never fails to appear if the fire makes any progreſs: the means of conveying him are ready on the firſt ſignal; he has a number of horſes ſaddled, night and day, and armed boats ready for that purpoſe. The great officers uſe the ſame precaution, and theſe diſagreeable expeditions, which are frequent, very often interrupt their ſleep.

It is the duty of the guardians of the quarters, who are called *Paſſevans*, to watch for fires during the night. They run through their diſtrict, armed with large ſticks, tipped with iron, which they ſtrike

bit of beholding a number of wretches periſh in that way, from the frequency and rapidity of the fires, produces this effect, that the danger to which one is every day expoſed oneſelf, conſidered as a puniſhment, is from that circumſtance, reduced pretty nearly to the misfortune of dying in one's bed. The ſevereſt puniſhments alone will never eſtabliſh good order: it is the reſult of an enlightened attention, which deſpotiſm never makes uſe of.

againſt

againſt the pavement, and awaken the people with the cry of *yangen vor*; or, there is a fire; and point out the quarter where it has appeared. A very high tower in the palace of the Janiſſary Aga, as well as another at Galata, overlook all Conſtantinople; and there is a guard in each of theſe towers, conſtantly looking out for the ſame object. It is there that a ſort of 'larum, formed by beating two large drums, quickens the alarm, and conveys it rapidly down the canal, from whence a vaſt concourſe of perſons who are intereſted run to their ſhops, as they often find them burnt or pillaged.

It is for this reaſon that the Beſeſtins have been built, either by the body of merchants, or by individuals, who let out the warehouſes, as places of ſecurity for the more precious merchandiſe, out of the reach of the flames, or to preſerve them from plunder, in caſe of an inſurrection, or a fire. Theſe buildings, which ſerve at the ſame time as ſtreets, are built of hewn ſtone, and vaulted the whole length with brick. Each of them contains articles nearly of the ſame kind; but if thoſe of the goldſmith are of the moſt value, it is neither from

from their taſte, nor workmanſhip. I ſhall have occaſion in another place to ſpeak of the induſtry of the Turks.

After the misfortune of which I have been ſpeaking, the reſidence of the Grand Signior's Miniſters was transferred, until the palace of the Grand Viſir ſhould be rebuilt, to the palace of a Sultana, which had eſcaped the fire; and M. de Vergennes, who had hitherto borne only the title of Envoy of France, having obtained that of Ambaſſador, prepared to deliver his new credentials.

Said Effendi, the ſame who had been Ambaſſador in France, was at that time Grand Viſir. We went to his audience, without intending to go to that of the Grand Signior before the ſecond Tueſday, the firſt being too near*; but the Sultan, who

* The Grand Signior never gives audience to Ambaſſadors but on Tueſdays, which is the day of the Divan of the Seraglio. He ſtays on the ground-floor of a ſquare tower, which bears his name. The Viſir, as well as the great Judges of Europe and of Aſia, the Grand Treaſurer, &c. are ſeated on benches, which go round the hall. Above the Viſir's ſeat, oppoſite to the gate, is a ſmall window, with bars, and raiſed about nine or ten feet, from whence the Grand Signior

who was incognito at the Porte *, gave M. de Vergennes to underſtand that he would receive him the next day. This Prince, of a paſſionate, but feeble character, impatient, and curious to exceſs, afforded us on our return a very ſingular exhibition. We found him diſguiſed as a man of the law, and accompanied only by his Selictar †, and his Devitdar ‡, both diſguiſed as Tchoadars §. He had ſtopt in one of the ſtreets, to ſee us paſs, and the line of our march lying through the *Atmeydan* ‖, we very ſoon ſaw the Prince, ſometimes running by the ſide of us, and at others ſhortening his pace near the Ambaſſador, whom he accompanied to the end of

nior can hear every thing which paſſes in the Divan, but from whence, as he is made to believe, he neither can be poniarded, nor can he poniard any other perſon.

* This ſignifies the reſidence of the Viſir, where all the public offices are kept, and all the other officers of the Porte ſit in the day time, to carry on the affairs of their reſpective departments.

† The Sword-bearer, who executes the office of Grand Chamberlain, and Captain of the Guards.

‡ Secretary, and Keeper of the Royal papers.

§ Servants who attend their maſters on foot.

‖ Place of the Hippodromos.

that

that place, when again running on, he paſſed the ſtreet at the head of the firſt line of people, and entering by one of the gates of the garden of the Seraglio, went out towards the Admiralty, to fall in with us again on the Pier *, where we embarked, and where he remained till our departure, after which he re-entered, and we loſt ſight of him.

I could not help remarking, that during the whole time this Prince accompanied us in the place of the Hippodromos, where our appearance had attracted many curious people, not one of them made the ſmalleſt movement tending to him, though there was not one of them who did not know him, and who was not terrified at his preſence. But it is the nature of deſpotiſm to command, and to make them diſſemble even their very fears.

I ſhall not enter into a detail of the ceremonial of the Grand Signior's audience: travellers have already ſaid enough of it to make me ſilent, on the ſubject of the various humiliations that Ambaſſadors expe-

* A ſort of jettee of ſtone, or planks on piles, to facilitate the approach of boats for the purpoſe of embarkation and diſembarkation.

rience on ſuch occaſions: it will be more uſeful to diſcuſs the methods of avoiding them; and I deſcribe only the manners of the Turks.

It was remarkable, however, in this audience, that the Grand Signior, inſtead of addreſſing himſelf to his Viſir, to convey his anſwer, addreſſed himſelf directly to M. de Vergennes, to whom the Drogman of the Porte tranſlated it, and which was conceived in terms full of eſteem for that Ambaſſador, and by no means framed on principles of etiquette. This anſwer could not have been premeditated, but proceeded ſpontaneouſly, from a ſort of affability in the Prince.

Sultan Oſman, in other reſpects little capable of that energy ſo often neceſſary to a deſpotic ſovereign, made up for this deficiency by an habitual impatience and frequent fits of paſſion. Selictar-Pacha, young, full of confidence, and proud of the favour of his maſter, who had raiſed him to the Viſiriate, thought he might give himſelf up, without fear and without reſtraint, to ſuch violent meaſures, as, from their frequent repetition, excited a general murmur. Theſe com-

complaints, which always with difficulty reach the Throne, came very readily to the knowledge of the Sultan, in the walks he took incognito; and that Prince, enraged at his favourite, made him attend at the Seraglio, in preſence of the Mufti, whom he had ſent for on the occaſion. The violence of his paſſion was ſo great, that laying hold of a pile of arms, he would himſelf have ſtruck him, had not the chief of the law interpoſed. To reſtrain his firſt emotion, increaſed no doubt the anger of Sultan Oſman; for his victim was very ſoon diſpatched, and the Viſir ordered out of the inner apartment; but followed by an order, was ſtopped between the two gates *. The Solictar-Aga took from him the ſeal of the empire, and his head, ſtruck off upon the ſpot, was expoſed on a ſilver plate at the gate of the ſecond Court, be-

* The paſſage from the firſt court of the Seraglio into the ſecond is ſhut in by two gates, between which there are apartments in the towers, which flank the entry; the Porters occupy a part of it, but the principal apartment is called the Dgellate Odaſſi, the Hangman's Chamber.

fore

ſore there was the leaſt ſuſpicion of this firſt miniſter's loſs of favour †.

The Ulemats, that celebrated body of lawyers, who never fail to ſeize the feeble remains of authority, to oppreſs authority itſelf, who had until then been kept under ſubjection by the influence of the Viſir, imagined, that after his death, they could bear their ſway with more impunity. The Ulemats, in fact, abuſed the weakneſs of the Sultan to ſuch a degree, as could not fail of drawing down his vengeance on that body, and his fury broke forth againſt the Mufti.

Fanaticiſm, which every where produces ſanguinary, or abſurd laws, and often both, has eſtabliſhed one in Turkey in favour of theſe Ulemats, by which their property cannot be confiſcated, nor can they be puniſhed with death in any other way than by pounding them in a mortar. One does not very well ſee the pleaſure of ſuch a pre-eminence; but it is not difficult to perceive that the examples of ſo terrible a puniſhment muſt be leſs frequent, from

† There was a writing likewiſe in the following words:—"It is thus all perſons are treated who abuſe the favour of their maſter."

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the intereſt theſe men of the law have in preventing their repetition. It was, without doubt, under the idea of this impunity, that the Mufti received with inſolence the menaces of his maſter; and this reſiſtance irritated Sultan Oſman ſo much, that he ordered the mortars to be dug up which had been buried by length of time. This order alone produced the moſt decided effect. The body of Ulemats, juſtly terrified, were all ſubmiſſion, and the famous Rachub Pacha, who was appointed Viſir, governed without oppoſition.

Rachub united to the moſt engaging manners, great ſtrength of character. Never did a Viſir poſſeſs more the talents neceſſary for his ſituation. He knew how to corrupt with addreſs, and to overawe the moſt audacious; always treacherous, always malignant, but always able, and perfect maſter of himſelf, he ſet little value upon mankind, and looked upon their lives as nothing.

This Miniſter had formerly been Pacha of Cairo, the place in all the empire the leaſt adapted to his character. The undiſciplined ſtate of the Bey-Mamelucs, propped up however by force, had left him no other

other reſource but corruption for his ſupport, without being the leſs expoſed to acts of violence. He had juſt eſcaped from the ſhot of a piſtol, fired at him in his own Divan, when the Grand Signior called him to the Viſirate. Rachub joined to all the talents neceſſary to deſpotiſm, the moſt uſeful general knowledge of the affairs of the empire, which he had acquired at the treaty of Belgrade, when he had filled the poſt of Mektoubtchy *.

The various employments through which this Miniſter had ſucceſſively paſſed, leaving no perſon the hope of becoming neceſſary to him, he found every body diſpoſed to be ſubſervient to his will; and it was very ſoon remarked, that the habit of authority had taught him to expreſs his orders in a very wanton manner.

The interval between the death of Selictar Pacha, and the elevation of Rachub to the Viſirate, had been filled by a great number of Viſirs, ſome of whom were not fifteen days in office. We were tired of

* Mektoubtchy is a Miniſter of the Porte of the ſecond order: This place can only be compared to that of the firſt Clerk of the firſt Miniſter, if ſuch a one exiſted.

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the frequent audiences occaſioned by theſe changes, but it was neceſſary, nevertheleſs, to appear at that of the new Miniſter. The ceremonies uſual on theſe occaſions were at an end; but Rachub was continuing a friendly converſation with the Ambaſſador, when the Muzar Aga * coming into the hall, and approaching the Pacha, whiſpered a word in his ear. We obſerved very plainly that the only anſwer he received was by a ſlight horizontal movement of the hand; after which his Highneſs immediately reſuming an agreeable ſmile, proceeded to converſe a few minutes longer with the Ambaſſador. We left the hall of audience at length, to regain the bottom of the ſtair-caſe, where we mounted our horſes, and nine heads cut off, and ranged on the outſide of the firſt gate, explained to us in paſſing, the meaning of the geſture which the Viſir made uſe of in our preſence.

The inutility of precipitating in ſuch a manner an execution which he could command at any time with the greateſt eaſe, may lead one to preſume, that this was

* This anſwers to the office of Grand Prevot in France.

pre-

preconcerted, in order to give us an opinion of the ſpeedy juſtice of the new Miniſter, but we could diſcover nothing in this ſcene but its atrocity. This is the main-ſpring of deſpotiſm; it always overwhelms, but never puniſhes: and theſe were the means conſtantly employed by Rachub *.

But if the great men of the empire were compelled to ſubmit to the uſe this Viſir made of his political principles, it was reſerved for a woman of the lower claſs of the people to reſiſt him with impunity; and as the nature of the ſedition ſhe occaſioned is connected with the ſubſiſtence of Conſtantinople, it is important to lay open that part of the Turkiſh adminiſtration.

The Grand Signior, who makes a public monopoly of the corn, for the ſupply of the capital, receives that article from the maritime provinces, where he has eſtabliſhed the impoſt Tchetirach †, which con-

* Under a deſpotic government, the exiſtence of every man in place muſt be neceſſarily precarious; and no one can there gratify his ambition by filling them, without being indifferent about his own life. What value can he then be ſuppoſed to ſet on the lives of others?

† The produce of this monopoly belongs to the Public Treaſure: the management of it is entruſted to the Tefterdar (Grand Treaſurer.)

ſiſts

ſiſts in an obligation to deliver to the Grand Signior, at a very low price, a ſtipulated quantity of corn, which is conveyed into his ſtore-houſes by veſſels freighted for his account. This article he ſells again in retail to the bakers who are obliged to receive and make uſe of it at the price fixed by his Highneſs. The neceſſary conſequence of this method of adminiſtering affairs are, the prohibition of the exportation of corn, the unavoidable knavery of the officers, who evade the order, the periſhing of the grain which is ſtored, and badly taken care of, very often unwholeſome, and famine, is the laſt reſult.

Conſtantinople was threatened with this calamity; bread diminiſhed in weight was conſiderably augmented in price; the bakers had even begun to adulterate it, and the only remaining hopes of a freſh ſupply of corn, depended on the arrival of ſeventy veſſels expected from the Black Sea; when intelligence was received of the loſs of all thoſe veſſels, caſt away on the coaſt, by miſſing, in the night, the entrance of the Canal. Conſtantinople was in conſternation, and one cannot think, without horror, that this accident was occaſioned by a kind

a kind of abuſe, which would not appear credible, did it not even now continue frequently to occur.

Two very lofty light-houſes are placed at the mouth of the Black Sea, on the two promontories of Aſia and of Europe, to point out the entrance of the Canal, to navigators. The government provides the oil neceſſary for the conſumption, and guards are paid for the daily lighting and ſupplying them; but this government allows, at the ſame time, the making of charcoal along the whole coaſt, although they might have foreſeen, that under this pretence the inhabitants would kindle fires capable of deceiving and miſguiding the mariner, in ſtormy weather. They ought alſo to have known, that the guards of the two light-houſes would intercept the light of the lantherns, that veſſels might be caſt away, and they profit by the wreck *.

The firſt method adopted by the government to remedy this misfortune, was by

* Humanity once abandoned to injuſtice, very ſoon makes a ſport of every crime. One diſorder always produces a greater, which is more certain when the laws authorize it by their example. Is there a legiſlator who ought not to tremble at this dilemma?

a gene-

a general order throughout the empire to take the ſeed corn from the huſbandmen. The ſubſequent diſtreſſes of which they were laying the foundation, were overlooked by the intereſt of the moment; the ſole intereſt of deſpotiſm. Not only the ground corn, but beans and all kinds of pulſe were ſeized on, and avarice, which avails itſelf of every event, got poſſeſſion of all ſorts of proviſion, for the purpoſe of adulterating its quality, yet without ſupplying the quantity demanded.

It became neceſſary to place guards on the ovens, which were perpetually beſieged by a famiſhed people: a cake of dough, badly baked, was all that was delivered to each perſon; and the Turks preſenting themſelves, piſtol or ſword in hand, committed all ſorts of outrages.

In the midſt of this diſtreſs, which had occaſioned the rice likewiſe to be hoarded, the firmneſs of the Viſir had hitherto maintained a ſort of tranquillity in the city, when a woman of the lower claſs, old, but fearleſs of danger, raiſing a mob amongſt the women of her quarter, very ſoon increaſed her troop, and hurried towards the granaries of rice, inſulting the guards, who de-

demanded, on the road, the reaſon of this riotous aſſembly? The Janiſſary Aga *, flies to the place with a numerous guard, but is repulſed by a ſhower of ſtones, the rice magazines are forced, and the pillage begun, when the Grand Signior arrives in perſon; the old woman advanced towards him, and inſulted him with menaces, openly defying the power of his ſoldiers; ſhe harangues him with intrepidity, prevails upon, or rather makes him feel the neceſſity of giving way, obtains a portion of rice for each of her combatants, and diſmiſſes her victorious band.

The exceſs of the abuſes, however, which had produced a temporary reſtoration of order, procured, for ſome time, the ſupply neceſſary for commerce; the famine diſappeared; but the diſeaſes ariſing from the unwholeſome nouriſhment, adding to the exhalations of the plague, that dreadful ſcourge began its ravages, and ſpread throughout the empire.

The reſearches which have been made into the cauſes of that diſorder, have been hitherto productive only of opinions, either

* The General of the Infantry.

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contradictory or belied by facts. It was thought to be of Egyptian origin; but it will appear, from my obſervations made in theſe countries, that this laſt conjecture is abſolutely without foundation.

But, whatever be the cauſe or origin, the focus which preſerves it, and the cauſes by which it is propagated, are clearly aſcertained. Both one and the other ariſe from the dealers in old cloaths, and the conduct of individuals, at Conſtantinople, who preſerve in their cheſts, not only the cloaths, but even the furs of thoſe who have died of the plague. This is taking, undoubtedly the moſt effectual method to foment and perpetuate the ſeeds of the diſorder. It attacks infallibly thoſe perſons who are ſuſceptible of it from the ſtate of their body, and its progreſs is more rapid in that ſeaſon when the humours are in fermentation.

It was therefore towards the beginning of the ſpring following the ſcarcity, that the firſt ſymptoms of the plague began to make their appearance, which carried off, in that year, upwards of one hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls in the city of Conſtantinople alone; and the number of dead

was

was ſo great, as to authorize public prayers to God for a ceſſation of this calamity; for it may be proper to obſerve, that the Turks bear it patiently, and without a murmur, until the daily liſt of burials, which paſs through the ſingle gate of Adrianople, amounts to 999. This is the ſtated terms of their reſignation!

Neither the beginning, nor the different periods of this diſtemper, excite any further attention than what ariſes from the frequency of the burials; but this ſcourge interrupts no buſineſs, and the movement occaſioned by them keeps up the communication, and increaſes the progreſs of the evil. There is no reaſon, however, from obſervation, to imagine, that the air contributes toward it; and habit which familiarizes us with the greateſt diſaſters, and the moſt certain dangers, procures as ready an aſſiſtance for the ſick, as in the ſlighteſt epidemical fevers. The Turks ſtill find their greateſt ſecurity in a blind predeſtination.

The Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews, who do not carry this prejudice to the ſame exceſs, have ſtudied a ſort of remedy which they make uſe of with ſome ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, but never until the firſt attacks of the diſtemper are allayed; but it is remarkable that each of theſe nations has adopted a different regimen, peculiar to itſelf, and this ſingularity muſt be attributed, no doubt, to the difference in their food. It is, however, the ſureſt method not to adopt this fact, which is aſſerted by ſeveral phyſicians, but for whoſe credibility I will not anſwer.

The Europeans are the only perſons who take any precautions againſt the infection; long habit makes them too frequently neglectful, but never without the greateſt riſque; and thoſe who are not compelled to an abſolute reſidence, withdraw themſelves the more readily into the country during the plague; as that diſorder, which begins its ravages in the ſpring, uſually laſt until the beginning of winter. The Iſle of Princes, ſituated five leagues from Conſtantinople, at the entrance of the gulph which forms the Sea of Marmora, was the place to which the French formerly gave the preference; they are ſince diſperſed in different villages on the borders of the Canal, on the European ſide; and the Ambaſſadors in general, and the merchants of

of every nation, reſide in the villages of Tarapia and Buyukdere; that of Belgrade, celebrated for the reſidence of Lady Mary Montague, was for a long time preferred; but the air, which is become unwholeſome, has made it loſe that preference.

I had made choice of the ſmall village of Keffely Keuy, to get out of the way of all communication during the plague, of which I have been ſpeaking. This village is ſituated near to Buyukdere, where Murad Mollach had his ſummer reſidence, and took ſome liberties to the great ſcandal of all true believers. I went to pay him a viſit, and his taſte for drunkenneſs, which I was able to ſupply; and my zeal for information, which he could alſo gratify made us more intimate.

This Effendi *, born in opulence, ſon of the Mufti, and deſtined himſelf to the Pontificate, knew no other law than his pleaſure.

Surrounded by numerous domeſtics, always ready to execute his orders, he had aſſumed the property and the criminal juriſdiction of the village of Buyukdere; he

* Effendi, a man of the law.

had

had alſo extended his pretenſions to the two neighbouring villages. Favours, oppreſſions, every thing there depended on him; and the government, far from oppoſing the uſurpation, by diſmiſſing the complainants, added to their misfortunes that of having made a fruitleſs complaint, and the danger of having made any complaint at all. Another method, as effectual of getting poſſeſſion of other men's property, had for a long time furniſhed Murad Mollach with the ſums neceſſary for his expences, and never did man know better how to multiply them. I have known him, while he was Kadi-leſker ‡, poſſeſs nine houſes, in each of which he had a wife, children, ſervants, kitchen to feed them, workmen building every where, neighbours who were afraid of him, and creditors who fled from his preſence.

‡ Kadi-leſker, this word ſhould be Kadi-el-aſker; theſe three words ſignify Judge of the Troops, of whom there are two, one for Europe, and one for Aſia; this laſt has the precedence of the other: they are the two Chief Judges; every thing is ſubmitted to their deciſion: In a military government there are nothing but ſoldiers.

Although Murad had only the title of Mollach of Mecca ‖ when I firſt became acquainted with him, one may conceive that he was at that time in high conſideration; he was often viſited by men in office, with whom, however, he was obliged to uſe ſome precautions.

The Boſtandgy Bachi, the external officer of the Seraglio, who the moſt frequently approaches his maſter, who from his office muſt give an account of all irregularities, and who frequently takes his rounds to obſerve them, came in one of his cruizes to Buyukdere, where intending to viſit the Mollach, a ſervant of the latter informed him, that his maſter was gone to walk towards the meadow, whither the Boſtandgy Bachi went to meet him. In the interim

‖ Mollach of Mecca, is only a title peculiar to his rank, and which is preparatory to the office of Stambol Effendiſſi, a ſort of Governor and Lieutenant of Police of Conſtantinople; but this office, as well as thoſe of Kadi-leſker and Muſti, does not follow in a regular rotation; arrived at the title of Kiabe Molaſſi Mollach of Mecca, the Grand Signior's choice is neceſſary, who diſpoſes of theſe places at pleaſure, provided the perſon has paſſed the third and ſecond rank before the firſt.

no

no time was loſt to apprize the Effendi, who was at that time at my houſe, and ſo well employed over a few bottles of Maraſquino cordial, that he appeared to me in no condition for any other buſineſs. His ſervant, however, arrives, and announces that the Boſtandgy Bachi is in the neighbouring meadow. I was deviſing ſome expedient to prevent any interview, the conſequence of which, from the ſituation he was in, I very much dreaded; when perceiving my fears, "You will ſee," ſays he to me, ſmiling, "the influence of the mind over the body." He ſuffers his ſervants, however, to ſupport him to the door of the ſtreet, where he puſhes them from him, walks ſteadily, enters precipitately into the Moſque, which was only ten paces diſtant, and boldly orders them to tell the Boſtandgy Bachi he was at prayers; from whence, a moment after, he goes to the place where that officer waited for him, receives his homage, diſmiſſes him, and returns to laugh with me at my apprehenſions on his account.

Murad Mollach, too much accuſtomed to exceſs, was not eaſily controuled. He ſubmitted, however, on the repreſenta-

tions I made him, to uſe ſpiritous liquors with more moderation, and conſented only to make himſelf at times a little gay. Our converſations became, in conſequence, more intereſting. It was from him that I drew what I have already ſaid about the women, and his women, who paid frequent viſits to Madame de Tott, very much enriched my ſtore of knowledge on that ſubject. Being inclined to ſee with my own eyes this flock for which the ſhepherd cared but little, I once entered haſtily into their apartment: there was a general cry; it was only the old, however, who ſtrove to hide their faces; but the vanity of the young ones was apparent, from the ſlowneſs with which they took that precaution.

We may ſuppoſe that Murad Mollach, conſtantly diſguſted with the women he already had, increaſed their number from no other motive than to procure new ſlaves, whom he ſoon loſt ſight of. I was one day taking coffee with him in one of his kioſks, and was endeavouring to demonſtrate to him, that ſince his ſyſtem of predeſtination did not oblige a Turk to ſtay in his houſe if it was burning, he might, with the ſame propriety, avoid the plague when it

it broke out; and our diſpute was becoming ſerious, when a little child, of about four years old, with naked feet, and badly clad, came to kiſs his hand. The Mollach careſſes him; makes me look at the child, and aſked him who was his father? "You," replied he, briſkly.—"What! I your father? and what is your name?" "Juſuf." "But, who is your mother?" "Katidgee."---"Ah! good Katidgee!" "Ay, indeed." Says the Effendi to me, coldly, "I did not know him." "How," ſays I to him, "you do not know either your children or their mothers? If you are a ſtranger to ſuch things as thoſe, what is there which can intereſt you?"

THE MOLLACH.

I partly agree with you; but admit alſo, that this mighty intereſt which you reproach me with not feeling, is rather ideal. The offspring of illuſion, is it not nouriſhed by vanity? Need I wiſh for any ſuch reſource? No, certainly, but curioſity is my only ſentiment.

THE BARON.

I believe it is alſo that of many others, and I ſhould forgive you, were it not excluſive; but to love nothing, not even one's

one's children, that is certainly to live in a forlorn ſtate, in the moſt dreadful ſolitude!

THE MOLLACH.

Theſe are only high-ſounding words, which explain nothing, and furniſh no determinate idea. Let us be candid: All men have the ſame ſenſations; their pleaſures do not differ, but their prejudices, as well as their cuſtoms, produce thoſe varieties from which ariſe the moral ſenſations which modify their natural ones. Let us not confound theſe. Would you think of aſſimilating the inſignificant regulations of a ſmall ſociety, with the eternal laws of the Eternal Being?

THE BARON.

You are of opinion then, that, without making ſo vain and abſurd a compariſon, one cannot believe in the filial ſentiment?

THE MOLLACH.

We muſt always believe in what we feel, and feel the moſt we can; but we muſt not conclude that all our ſenſations are ſo ingrafted in our nature; then we are wanting to her dictates in not feeling them. We have juſt agreed that there are ſenſations purely moral, which acting on our

our natural diſpoſition, controul it, and do not belong to it. We reſign ourſelves to thoſe ſenſations, and fondly cheriſh them from habit; and perhaps they merit all that preference that is poſſible. You ſee that I enter into your ideas; try to enter into ours. It requires no great effort to perceive, that the eaſe with which we ſatisfy our inclinations produces indifference; it is the fault of our cuſtoms, we cannot change them: they procure us benefits, without employment; and employments, without benefit. Every thing is balanced:---but as long as I am curious, I ſhall never be ſo unhappy as you imagine.

One could eaſily perceive that Murad puſhed that curioſity ſometimes beyond the proper bounds; but this his metaphyſics did not attempt to juſtify: he was content with making a free uſe of it.

Amongſt the number of his attendants, the name of *Haidout Muſtapha* had often ſtruck me; the firſt word ſignifying *robber*, which had been, in fact, Muſtapha's former trade. He ſtill thought that title an honour, and his maſter ordered him to give me an account of the crimes he had committed.

committed. The narrative of a hundred heroic actions could not have been given with more nobleneſs and modeſty, than this raſcal aſſumed in recounting to us the various murders and villainies with which he was polluted. A great number of ſervants, who had flocked to enjoy his narrative, joined in their applauſe; and when he had finiſhed,---"Agree with me," ſays the Mollach, "that this rogue has a great deal of courage." "There is, at leaſt," I anſwered, "a good deal of courage in thus braving the laws, by confeſſing his crimes; and without your ſupport, I ſuppoſe he would already have paid dearly for it." "Not at all," replied he coolly, "the law can no longer do any thing with him; he has never fallen under its laſh whilſt he exerciſed his trade, and he cannot be puniſhed now that he has quitted it †."

This ſame fellow was afterwards employed by his maſter to look after a ſort of ſheep fold, together with one of his fellow ſervants, who was found dead by the blow

† The robbers in Turkey are like unlicenſed mechanics; if they eſcape the laws, and with their profits purchaſe a privilege, they are free to exerciſe their trade; a Pachalick in Turkey gives general licence.

of

of a hatchet, in the ſame hut where they had ſlept together; and Haidout Muſtapha, with the utmoſt effrontery, was the firſt to announce the event. He was generally looked upon as the murderer; but the fact was too recent, no doubt, for him to boaſt of it. The Mollach, however, who had no doubt of it, ſtill continued him in his ſervice, and was conſtantly attended in his walks by this brave fellow, who had given ſuch frequent proofs of his courage.

The inconveniences of ſhooting in a country where rogues are more common than partridges, induced me to give the preference to fiſhing, where I might hope for more tranquillity. I frequently partook of this diverſion, by going in a boat into a little bay on the coaſt of Aſia, near the mouth of the Black Sea, and on the other ſide of the fartheſt caſtles which the Turks had then built.

Several young men were in company with me, and we carried each of us our gun, to amuſe us on the way by ſhooting gabions §, a ſort of aquatic bird, with

§. The Turkiſh word is martin; a ſort of ſea-gull.

which the Canal is covered. Two boatmen, Greeks, rowed our boat, baited our lines, and caſt our nets for us. We were ſix ſhooters, and the birds having drawn us acroſs the Canal, on the ſide of Aſia, which they prefer on account of the currents, we coaſted it, and kept firing at them from time to time. This obliged us to paſs near the caſtle of Aſia, oppoſite to which I knocked down a gabion. One of the Boſtandgy's officers, who commanded there, was ſitting ſquat at the foot of his tower, and gravely reſpiring with the ſmoke of his pipe, all his inſolence of office. My boatmen obſerved to me that he made us a ſign to approach the ſhore. I then aſked him what he wanted? "To ſpeak to you," ſays he: "And I" ſaid I, "have nothing to ſay to you.---I am going to fiſh in ſuch a place; if you like the diverſion, come along, I will hear what you have to ſay." The Turk then affecting ſome reſpect for me, declared that it was only to my boatmen he wiſhed to talk; who, terrified at this, concluded it was to call them to account for the ſhot I had fired near the caſtle; but I ſoon encouraged them, by promiſing to ſtand by them; and

and I again aſked the Turk to come and fiſh with us, if he was fond of the diverſion: but irritated, no doubt, at my ſtile of contempt, he anſwered me very coolly, "I'll go there, and find you;" and we proceeded on our expedition.

One only of the young men in company appeared uneaſy at the anſwer of the Turk. Born in the country, he had imbibed with his milk a puſillanimous timidity, which ſerved to divert us, by ſaying to him every moment, "Here come the Boſtandgis!" Nobody, in fact, believed that they would really come after us, nor did we ſee any ſufficient reaſon to induce them. We had ſcarcely entered the bay, however, where we intended to fiſh, before we diſcovered the guard-boat coming towards us.

No alternative was now left, but to prepare for battle, which might be attended with diſagreeable conſequences; but we were ſo remote from all aſſiſtance, that we muſt either reſolve to conquer or be beaten. There was no heſitating, ſo I took the command, and acted in the double capacity of ſoldier and politician. I firſt ordered my boatmen to caſt their lines and nets, that the enemy, obſerving this, might ſee that we

we were not afraid of them. I assured my two Greeks also, that they had nothing to fear, and our arms being prepared, I gave orders to our musketry to take aim at the Bostandgis, as soon as I paid their officer that compliment; but by no means to fire before I did. Having made this disposition, and the Turkish boat being already near us, I thought it consistent with the European dignity to bear down upon him. The fellow had also his Turkish dignity, and construing this measure into a proof of my submission, he left off rowing to wait for me, which I no sooner perceived, than I changed my manœuvre, to get at a distance from him; and on his invitation to continue to approach him, I answered that it was his business to come after me, if he was determined to speak to me. "Very well," says he. My boat, however, at that time, lay athwart the prow of his, which was, besides, much larger. He ordered his people to row in such a manner as to sink our boat, by striking us directly in the middle; and this would infallibly have happened, had I not taken aim at him, which motion was followed by my companions, crying out at the same time, that if he made another

another ſtroke with his oars, I would ſhoot him as I had done the gabion. The ſight alone of the end of our pieces made theſe brave fellows change their helm, and lye upon their oars. Our boats now ran alongſide of each other, and keeping the enemy always in awe, we began our conference.

At firſt I had ſome difficulty to obtain permiſſion to play the principal character; for the Turk whom I had juſt humbled, ſaid to the boatmen, "that Frank does not underſtand me; do you ſpeak." One muſt be acquainted with the crouching meanneſs of a Greek towards a Turk, to judge of the degree of inſolence my boatmen ventured to diſplay in anſwering the officer, "that I ſpoke the Turkiſh language better than he did;" and he was at length forced to addreſs himſelf to me.

TURK.

Has Conſtantinople then paſſed under the yoke of the Infidels? By what right do you preſume to oppoſe the guard which looks after the ſafety and good order of the Canal?

EURO-

EUROPEAN.

And by what right do you preſume your-ſelf, to violate the engagements of your maſter, by moleſting his beſt friends?

TURK.

I do not moleſt you; but it is forbid to ſhoot here without permiſſion: ſhew me your authority.

EUROPEAN.

Where did you ſee any body ſhoot hares in a boat? I am fiſhing, and the fiſhery is free.

TURK.

No, nothing is free here, not even the walks, and I have a long firman †, to which you muſt ſubmit.

EUROPEAN.

Yes, when I have ſeen it.

TURK.

You cannot read.

EUROPEAN.

Better than you; but I ſee that you have none. You are a fellow who make uſe of falſe pretences: we are ſtrictly in order.

† An order iſſued from the Porte in the name of the Grand Signior.

TURK.

TURK.

How! Have you not fired a ſhot oppoſite the Imperial fortreſs?

EUROPEAN.

Before *you*, I admit that I have fired; but before a fortreſs, that is impoſſible, without you beſtow that name on an old pigeon-houſe you were ſitting under. This was ſurely not a very reſpectable object, and I will make you repent your inſolence. The Boſtandgy Bachi is my friend, and I ſhall deſire him to beſtow a hundred ſtrokes of his ſtick upon you, before my door, by way of amuſing myſelf.

TURK.

Why are you out of humour? Have I done you any harm?

EUROPEAN.

No; thanks to my gun, which frightened you.

TURK.

Cannot one enter into an explanation with you, without your being in a paſſion? As for me, I am not out of humour; I am your friend, treat me in the ſame manner, and amuſe yourſelf.

EURO-

EUROPEAN.

Oh! I underſtand you; a dollar would be very acceptable, but you ſhall not have it.

TURK.

What, nothing!

EUROPEAN.

No; nothing but the rain, which will certainly wet you if you don't make haſte and get to your pigeon houſe. Adieu!

This adventure, which terminated by the retreat of the aſſailants in the ſight of ſeveral Turkiſh fiſhermen acquainted with that coaſt procured us from them the moſt favourable reception; and we found them on landing much more attentive than uſual. I did not fail, on my return, to make my complaint to the Boſtandgy Bachi, who gave him orders to aſk my pardon, and we became very good friends.

There was this year, at Conſtantinople, one of thoſe winds ſo formidable throughout all Aſia, which the Turks call *cham yiely*, the damaſk wind; it blows moderately from ſouth ſouth eaſt, but loads the atmoſphere with an earthy fog, which darkens the air, and contributes, no doubt, by that, more than by its exceſſive heat, to ſuffocate

ſuffocate the travellers and country people who are unacquainted with the method of preſerving themſelves, by breathing from time to time with their mouths againſt the ground; even in the houſes one is very much incommoded by it; and for three days that this wind continued, I was under the neceſſity of placing my mouth often againſt the wall, in order to reſpire more freely.

Excepting this wind, which very ſeldom blows, the climate of Conſtantinople adds much to the beauty of its ſituation. They have ſcarcely any other than ſoutherly and northerly winds, which ſucceed each other, and often claſh together at the point of the Seraglio. The latter are generally trade winds in ſummer, that die away at the ſetting of the ſun, and begin to blow at about ten in the morning, and during the great heats, much later. The ſouth-erly winds prevail generally in winter, and regularly follow the ſnow ſtorms from the northward, and which they very quickly melt. It is obſerved, however, that the firſt day of the ſoutherly wind after the ſnow, conveys a very ſharp cold to Con-ſtantinople, and produces the hardeſt froſts; it

it then becomes more mild, makes a thaw, and is productive ſometimes of the greateſt heats.

The ſituation of Mount Olympus, which is conſtantly covered with ſnow, is the cauſe and explanation of this phenomenon. This lofty mountain, at the foot of which is built the ancient town of Pruſa *, is ſituated in Aſia, in ſight, and in the meridian of Conſtantinople. The freſh ſnows that are carried there by the northerly winds, produce an exceſſive cold, which the firſt blaſt of the ſoutherly wind conveys to Conſtantinople; and it is not till the atmoſphere is cleared of that frozen air, that it reſumes its characteriſtic mildneſs. The poſition of that city renders it alſo very liable to frequent ſtorms, which are followed by a rapid brightneſs in the north-weſt, and the wind from that quarter very ſoon piles up the clouds in heaps over Aſia Minor. This is at leaſt the picture of the heavens in this country, as they commonly appear. The northerly breezes, by refreſhing the Canal, add to the beauty of the different ſituations on its borders

* A town built by Hannibal.

on

on the two coaſts of Aſia and of Europe, which attract all the great men of the empire, who repair there in ſummer to their country-houſes; and as the moſt beautiful ſituations are occupied by the Grand Signior, or laid out in walks, theſe palaces ſerve to decorate the Canal. They alſo afford proſpects ſo much the more agreeable, as that nature is no where fatigued by ſtraight line plantations, cropt arbours, and maſſes of ſtone, that ſubſtitute a burning ſandy terrace, for the natural and freſh lawns to which the Turks give the preference.

It is perhaps neither owing to want of art, nor to good taſte, which ſets a proper value on ſimplicity, that we muſt attribute the pains taken by the Turks to preſerve nature, in order to enjoy it in its primitive ſtate. They are particularly fond of the ſhade of large trees, and ſacrifice even the plan of their houſes to their preſervation. I have ſeen a houſe where the architect had preſerved a handſome elm of longer ſtanding than the proprietor, in the midſt of a gallery, through which it was ſuffered to pierce, for no other purpoſe than to ſhade the roof. All the trees on the ground

ground are preſerved, in what manner ſoever they happen to be placed; and, in general, the plan of the building is governed by them, and this, no doubt, becauſe in a hot climate the ſhade of large trees is neceſſary. Under a deſpotic government, a man muſt enjoy the trees that he can find; he has not the time to ſee them grow up.

Hanum Sultana, the Grand Signior's niece, had a handſome palace on the Canal, where ſhe paſſed the ſummer; her uncle, Sultan Oſman, often went to ſee her, and that Princeſs had ſo much influence over him, as to furniſh matter for ſcandal. Still young, yet long ſince married, ſhe had ſcarcely known her huſband, who had been appointed to a Pachalick ſhortly after his marriage. The intereſt of the different Viſirs kept him at a diſtance, the laws did not allow the Sultana to go to him, and the ſentiment the uncle had for the niece, was not calculated to bring the couple together.

The manner in which the word Sultana is abuſed in Europe, induces me to make ſome obſervations, which will ſerve, I hope, to rectify every error on that head.

This

The word *Sultan*, is only a title of birth appropriated to the Ottoman Princes, born on the throne, and to thoſe of the Gengiſkan family. This word, which is pronounced *Soultan*, is, without doubt, alſo the true etymology of *Soudan*; and this title in Egypt is ſynonimous with that of a *King*; but neither in Turkey, nor Tartary, does it imply any idea of ſovereign authority. The title of *Kam* is peculiarly attached to the Sovereign of the Tartars, and is equivalent to that of *Chach*, ſignifying *King*, with the Perſians, from whence is derived *Padi Chach*, *Great King*, which the Ottoman family has aſſumed, either for the purpoſe of refuſing or granting it to different powers, who have not perceived, perhaps, that there would have been more addreſs and dignity in not acknowledging, than in claiming this title. That of Sultan gives its poſſeſſors the capacity of ſucceeding to the throne, and the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion amongſt the Turks is always in the oldeſt of the family, who muſt, as I have already ſaid, be born on the throne.

Sultan Mahamout dying without iſſue, after a reign of one and twenty years, left the

the empire to his brother Oſman, the eldeſt of four remaining ſons of Sultan Achmet, who was dethroned by a revolution. Muſtapha, who ſucceeded Oſman, Bajazet who died in the Seraglio, and Abdul Amid, the reigning Sultan, were about the ſame age with Oſman, who leaving no poſterity, his family was threatened with deſtruction, had his reign laſted as long as it might have done; but it was only of three years duration, and Sultan Muſtapha very ſoon gave two heirs to the empire, one of whom is now living in the perſon of Sultan Selim, who was ſhut up after the death of his father, but deſtined to ſucceed his uncle, Abdul Amid, to the excluſion of his living and unborn couſins. It is to be hoped that this Prince, ſtill young, will mount the throne at an age capable of enſuring the continuance of the dynaſty of the Ottoman Princes, to which this order of ſucceſſion has frequently threatened to put an end, an event ſufficient alſo to annihilate the empire, to the poſſeſſion of which no law gives any claim to the Gengiſkan race. This prejudice, which has gained credit, has induced me to inform myſelf of its truth from the Kam of the Tartars, and that Prince

Prince has aſſured me, that it has no foundation. It may be preſumed, however, that in caſe of the extinction of the Ottoman family, the factions which would tear in pieces its inheritance, muſt decide the men of the law to call one of the Sultan Tartars to the throne, for want of the collateral branches, which the feebleneſs of the deſpot, armed with the moſt atrocious barbarity, has cut off at their birth.

I do not, however, ſpeak of thoſe branches which may ſpring from the Princes ſhut up by policy in the interior of the Seraglio, and who are allowed to have wives; their children born between the throne and the ſtate, would neither belong to the one nor the other. A falſehood may likewiſe ſpare nature the horror of knowing they are deſtroyed, and prejudice may ſtill further propagate the flattering error, that the wives of theſe Princes are no longer of an age to render the crime neceſſary.

But the daughters and ſiſters of the Grand Signior, married to the Viſirs and great men of the empire, live ſeparately in the palaces, and the male infant of the marriage muſt be ſmothered at the ſame moment, and by the ſame hands that bring

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it into the world. This is at once the moſt public and moſt inviolable law, no veil is thrown over the horror of theſe murders. A cowardly fear produces theſe aſſaſſinations, more than the real intereſt of the throne. What advantages of ſituation can conſole theſe unhappy Princeſſes?——But what freſh horror! The pride of their birth, which compels this crime, more monſtrous than the crime itſelf, not ſatisfied with the victim, ſmothers even the cry of nature.

If the female children alone eſcape this murderous law, they are obliged to add to the title of Sultana, that of Hanum, a title common to all women of eaſy fortune; and the children of both ſexes which theſe Princeſſes are able to preſerve, return in the next generation into the general claſs: they bear no longer any title of diſtinction. Deſcended from a grand daughter of the Grand Signior, they are already ſtript of all the influence of paternal ſentiments. The great grandfather has already loſt ſight of them in the obſcurity of their birth.

Such is the rule of eſtabliſhing the rank of Sultana amongſt the Turks. The Tartars, more humane, becauſe they are not deſpotic,

deſpotic, ſmother nobody: they content themſelves with making the Sultana's ſon adopt the name, the rank, and titles of the Mirza whom ſhe has choſen to be its father.

That female ſlave of the Seraglio, who becomes the mother of a Sultan, and who may live long enough to ſee her ſon mount upon the Throne, is alſo the only woman who can, at that period alone, acquire without the advantage of birth, the diſtinction of *Sultana valide*, *Sultana mother*.

Maintained until then in the interior of her priſon, with her ſon, ſhe muſt be contented only to poſſeſs the eſteem which he may have for her. It is evident that the title of *favourite Sultana* is the more abſurd; for that, if ſhe be the Sultana, ſhe cannot avow that ſort of preference; and the moment ſhe can poſſeſs it, ſhe is no longer Sultana.

The title of *Bache Kadun*, principal woman, is the firſt dignity of the Grand Signior's harem: ſhe has a larger allowance than thoſe who have the title of ſecond, third, and fourth woman; but theſe advantages do not always indicate the real favourite. The reigning Grand Signior had conſecrated theſe diſtinctions to his grati-

tude, by beſtowing them on women who had partaken of his retirement. He can diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure, by confining thoſe who already poſſeſs them in the old Seraglio. None of theſe four women are married to him: they repreſent only the four free women which the law allows. One may preſume alſo, that they are there only for ſhow.

I have already ſaid, that the difficulty of acceſs to the Grand Signior's harem, where only a few doctors are admitted, and that, after removing every thing but what is connected with the diſorder, leaves no other method of judging of it than from the knowledge of the cuſtoms which prevail in the harems of individuals.

The Palace even of a Sultana, where every thing, even to her huſband, is at her command, can give no inſight into what paſſes in the Seraglio. I do not pretend, therefore, to caſt a ray of light into that truly inacceſſible dungeon; nor am I going to offer any objects of compariſon; I ſhall confine myſelf to ſimple details, which ought to be deemed curious; they give at leaſt a picture of manners, and I am happy in ſatisfying, in this reſpect, the anxiety of the

the public, by deſcribing, as Madame de Tott dictates to me, a viſit ſhe made with her mother to Sultana Aſma, daughter of the Emperor Achmet, and ſiſter to his ſucceſſors to this day.

Under the reign of Sultan Mahamout, this Princeſs ſtill young and prejudiced by the example of her brother in favour of the Franks, was deſirous of converſing with an European woman. My mother-in-law, although born in Turkey, anſwered the purpoſe of her curioſity, and was invited to wait on her with her daughter. The female attendant of the exterior of the Palace, was directed to receive, and conduct them to the Sultana. On their arrival at the Seraglio of that Princeſs, (the ſame as I have already ſaid that the Viſir was lodged in after the fire) the conductreſs made them enter by a firſt and ſecond iron gate, guarded by different porters; but who were in no way different from the ordinary race of men, any more than the guardian of the third gate, which opening all at the command of the intendante, diſcovered ſeveral black eunuchs, who, with white ſtaves in their hands, preceded the female ſtrangers

through an inner court, entruſted to their keeping, and introduced them into a large room called the ſtranger's chamber.

The Kiaya Cadun, or Intendante of the interior apartments of the Seraglio, came to do the honours, and the ſlaves ſhe had brought aſſiſted the two ſtrangers to unmaſk and fold up their veils, whilſt their miſtreſs went to acquaint the Sultana with their arrival. The Princeſs, however, devoted to the prejudices of her religion, would only receive the viſit from behind the blinds, that ſhe might ſee, without being ſeen; but my mother-in-law declaring ſhe would withdraw if the Sultana perſiſted in concealing herſelf, the negociation was terminated by the conſent of the Princeſs, who contrived time to think of her dreſs, by inviting my mother to reſt herſelf a little before ſhe came up to her apartment. Conducted accordingly ſoon after by the Intendante and a great number of ſlaves, they found the Sultana, on entering her apartments, richly dreſſed, and ſet off with all her diamonds, ſeated in a corner of a rich ſopha that furniſhed her ſaloon, the tapeſtry

peſtry * and carpets of which were of gold and ſilver lyons ſtuff, ſewn together in breadths of different colours. The *ſelictes* †, covered with ſattin, ſtriped with gold, carried and ſpread before the Sultana, ſerved for them to ſit on; whilſt ſixty young girls, richly clad, and in looſe robes, divided themſelves on the right and left at the entrance of the hall, forming two rows with their hands croſſed on their waiſts.

After the firſt compliments, the Princeſs's queſtions turned upon the liberty enjoyed by our women. She compared it with the cuſtoms of the harem, and ſhowed ſome difficulty in conceiving, how the face of a young girl could be viewed before marriage by her future huſband. But, theſe different queſtions diſcuſſed, ſhe concurred in the advantages reſulting from our cuſtoms, and giving looſe to the natu-

* The Turks are very little acquainted with this kind of luxury, which is only to be found within the harems, where a kind of curtain extends behind the cuſhions, and covers the wall half way up: but the hall of the throne, which has no ſopha, is entirely covered with tapeſtry.

† Selictes is a ſmall cotton mattreſs, covered with ſtuff.

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ral ſenſations ariſing from her own perſonal ſituation, ſhe exclaimed againſt the barbarity of the inſtitution, which, at thirteen years old, had put her in the power of a decrepid old man, who, by treating her like a child, had only inſpired her with diſguſt. *He died, however, at laſt*, added ſhe; *but am I more happy?* "Ten years have I been married to a young Pachia, who, they ſay, is young and amiable, but we have never ſeen each other."

The Princeſs then ſaid many polite things to the two European ladies, and gave orders to her Intendante to treat them handſomely; and after taking a walk, to provide an entertainment for them in the garden, and to re-conduct them to her to conclude the viſit.

The Intendante led them accordingly to her apartments, where they dined alone with her; whilſt a number of ſlaves, forming a row around the table, were wholly employed in ſerving them.

The dinner finiſhed, and the coffee ſerved, the European ladies were offered pipes, which they refuſed, and which the Intendante hardly gave herſelf time to finiſh, before ſhe conducted her guaſts into the

the garden, where freſh bands of ſlaves were arranged near a very beautiful kioſk, the place where the company were to aſſemble.

This pavillion, richly furniſhed and ornamented, built over a large baſon of water, occupied the middle of the garden, where eſpaliers of roſes, riſing on all ſides, concealed from the eye the lofty walls that formed this priſon. Small foot paths, very narrow, and paved with moſaic, were, according to cuſtom, the only walks in the garden; but a great number of pots, and baſkets of flowers, preſented to the eye a little cluſter, beautifully coloured, invited the ſenſes to partake of their ſweets in the corner of a good ſopha, the only object of this ſort of walks. They were ſcarcely ſeated, before the eunuchs, who had headed the proceſſion, ranged themſelves in a row at ſome diſtance from the kioſk, to give room for the Princeſs's band of muſic, conſiſting of ten women ſlaves, who performed different pieces; during which a troop of women dancers, as richly, but more looſely dreſſed, executed ſeveral ballets that were tolerably agreeable both for the variety of ſteps and figures. Theſe

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women dancers were alſo of a higher claſs than they uſually are in private houſes. Soon after arrived a freſh troop of women, dreſſed like men, to add, no doubt, to this picture, the illuſion of a ſex which was wanting to the entertainment. Theſe pretended men began a ſort of tilting on the water, to win the fruits which other ſlaves threw into the baſon. The ſtrangers had alſo the pleaſure of going on the water in a ſmall boat, rowed by female rowers, diſguiſed alſo like men; after which being led back to the Sultana's apartment, they took leave of her with the uſual ceremonies, and were conducted out of the Seraglio by the ſame paſſage, and in the ſame order by which they were introduced.

It appears from this deſcription, that the Eunuchs were more at the command of the Sultana than diſpoſed to thwart her. Theſe beings are no other than an object of luxury in Turkey, diſplayed no where but in the Seraglios of the Grand Signior, and the Sultanas. The pride of the great, 'tis true, extends ſo far, but with moderation, and the richeſt of them have ſcarcely ever more than two or three black Eunuchs. The white ones, who are leſs deformed, are reſerved for the

the Grand Signior, to form the guard for the outer-gates of his Seraglio; but they are not ſuffered to approach the women, nor obtain any employment, whilſt the poſſibility of arriving at the poſt of Kiſlar Aga, furniſhes the black Eunuchs, at leaſt, a motive to ſupport and animate their ambition. Their character is always ferocious, and nature offended in their perſons, ſeems perpetually to feel the reproach.

Although the feaſt of Tchiragan *, an entertainment the Grand Signior often takes, cannot enable one to form any judgment of the inſide of the Seraglio, the particulars of it may appear intereſting, by giving ſome idea of his pleaſures †.

The garden of the Harem, larger, no doubt, than that of Sultana Aſma, but laid out certainly in the ſame taſte, ſerves as the theatre of theſe nocturnal feaſts. Vaſes of every kind, filled with natural or artificial flowers, are gathered there to augment

* The Feaſt of Tulips; which is ſo called, becauſe it conſiſts in illuminating a Parterre; and that this is the flower of which the Turks are the fondeſt.

† One may be apt to imagine, that thoſe which he habitually takes, are leſs lively than thoſe he procures himſelf, in illuminating his tulips.

the cluſter, which is lighted by an infinite number of lanthorns, coloured lamps, and wax lights, placed in glaſs tubes, and reflected by looking glaſſes, diſpoſed for that purpoſe. Temporary ſhops, filled with different ſorts of merchandize, are occupied by women of the Harem, who repreſent, in ſuitable dreſſes, the merchants who might be ſuppoſed to ſell them. The Sultanas, who are the ſiſters, nieces, or couſins of the Grand Signior are invited to theſe entertainments, and they, as well as his Highneſs, purchaſe trinkets and ſtuffs in theſe ſhops, which they mutually make preſents of to one another; they extend their generoſity alſo to ſuch of the Grand Signior's women as are admitted to approach him, or who keep the ſhops.—Dancing, muſic, and ſports ſimilar to the tilting on the water I have ſpoken of, prolong theſe entertainments until the night is far advanced, and diffuſe a ſort of momentary gaiety within theſe walls, generally devoted to ſorrow, and to dulneſs. It is alſo from Madame de Tott that I obtained theſe relations, which ſhe received from the Sultana Hanum, of whom, as I have

have already ſaid, her uncle was very fond.

My brother-in-law had become very intimate with the Intendante of that Princeſs, in order to obtain her intereſt in favour of his friends, or for his own concerns. The chief of her Eunuchs was alſo well diſpoſed towards him; the Sultana had ſeen him ſeveral times through her window-blinds; he had a handſome face, and every thing combined to procure him her good wiſhes. Deprived for a long time of her huſband, by whom ſhe had a ſon and a daughter, the Princeſs ſeemed to endeavour to conſole herſelf in his abſence, and to have availed herſelf of that want of rank, which approach her condition to that of ordinary individuals, by adopting their manners. In fact, one ſaw that jealouſy which reigns amongſt the Turkiſh women diſplay itſelf in lively colours around her perſon. The pains ſhe took in dreſſing Madame de Tott's hair, whom ſhe had deſired to ſee, diſpleaſed the woman who was her principal favourite ſo much, as to make her faint away; and Madame de Tott returned home more ſtruck with the particular marks of affection the Sultana had laviſhed on her, than with the

the exceſſive magnificence that reigned in her palace, and amongſt her ſlaves.

The Patriarch Kirlo, filled at that time, the œcumenical chair of Conſtantinople; this man, born of the dregs of the people, amongſt whom his fanaticiſm had ſucceeded in forming a party, made himſelf feared by the firſt people of his nation, whoſe pride, in other reſpects, held him in contempt.

Aided by ſome members of the Synod, he imagined and maintained the doctrine of baptiſm by immerſion: the anathema that he pronounced on this ſubject from his metropolis, againſt the Pope, the King of France, and all the Catholic Princes, determined his flock to renew their baptiſm; and the women, and young girls, always devotees, crouded to that holy ceremony, which ſcandal converted into a crime againſt the Apoſtle and his proſelytes.

Beſides the inſolence of an excommunication, which could have no other object than the inſult, this Patriarch, conſtantly employed in feeding the fanaticiſm of his nation, paid the Turks a recompenſe for the vexations with which he harraſſed the Catholics; he even extended his oppreſſi-

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ons to ſuch biſhops of his church as had the courage not to be ſubſervient to his projects, and he perſecuted theſe unfortunate deſpotis with the moſt unrelenting barbarity, after having ſtript them of their temporal poſſeſſions. Of this number was Kalinico, Archbiſhop of Amaſia. He had taken refuge in our quarter, to avoid the ſentence which confined him to Mount Sinai, and ſolicited the intereſt of my brother-in-law with Sultana Hanum, to obtain from the Grand Signior the reſtitution of his Archbiſhoprick. This would certainly have been a very good work, but it would not probably have excited anxiety in favour of the Prelate, had not the deſire of baniſhing Kirlo, tempted us to convert his victim into his rival. Whilſt my brother-in-law negotiated this affair, by the mediation and influence of Sultana Hanum, with the Grand Signior, ſome perſons hired by the Patriarch to carry off Kalinico, attempted to ſeize him one night near my houſe, where he had barely time to take refuge. To enſure at once, therefore, the ſafety of his perſon, and to place him in readineſs for his affairs, I conſented to let him ſtay in a kioſk built on the roof of my houſe, where

where I ſecretly took care of him, and fed him, until his elevation to the Patriarchate, for which my brother-in-law bargained a long time, and at length obtained, for a pretty conſiderable ſpecific ſum, to be paid in new ſequins *.

The *Katti Cherif* † of the Grand Signior, which depoſed Kirlo, and gave him Kalinico for a ſucceſſor, reached the Viſir before that Miniſter had the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of what was plotting. To juſtify this ſudden degradation, the order was conceived in very ſtrong terms, and imputed to the Patriarch a turbulent ſpirit, diſpoſed to a revolt, and concluded with an injunction to take the moſt efficacious meaſures to apprehend his perſon, and prevent his eſcape by flight from Mount Sinai, to which place the ſame order reſtricted him. The Miniſters of the Porte, however, took mea-

* It was the Grand Signior himſelf who required that clauſe, which could not be fulfilled without having recourſe to the mint; and the ſum paſſed directly from the ſcales into the hands of Sultan Oſman, who ſhared it with his niece.

† Katti Cherif, Imperial Signet, or Diploma;—which has the force of law, and muſt be executed without a demur.

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ſures to ward off the imaginary danger, which their puſillanimity ſuggeſted to be very urgent. Some companies of Janiſſaries had orders early in the morning, to take poſſeſſion of all the avenues of the Greek quarter; the guards were doubled in the environs, and the Patriarchal palace, ſtill more carefully ſurrounded, delivered up Kirlo to his conquerors, without any reſiſtance. They conveyed him without delay to a coal-boat, where they depoſited him. Excepting this circumſtance, which did not ennoble the ſcene, never was there a Greek for whom it was leſs neceſſary to take thoſe precautions that illuſtrated his fall; and his countrymen were ſo far from thinking of reſcuing him from the Grand Signior's orders, that had it not been for the trivial circumſtance of the coal-boat, even their vanity would have been gratified.

It now remained only for the Porte to inſtall his ſucceſſor; and the government would not have known where to find him, had not the Grand Signior, acquainted with the whole affair, pointed out the place. Some of the Viſir's people, diſpatched immediately, came to aſk for him at my houſe,

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to conduct him to the Porte; and this poor deſpoti *, more accuſtomed to fear than hope, was begging me not to deliver him up to his enemies, when I announced to him his elevation; I could not, however, quiet his apprehenſions; but, forced to obey, he followed his guides, whom he took to be executioners, and in an hour after was proclaimed Patriarch.

I received a meſſage of thanks from him the ſame day, and he came afterwards to viſit me in his good fortune, to deſire me always to reſerve for him his place of retreat, which he believed he ſhould ſtand in need of very ſhortly. I then perceived that we had made but an indifferent choice of a Patriarch for the Primitive church.

It furniſhed me, however, with a favourable opportunity of aſſiſting at the ceremonies preſerved by the Greek church, and I attended one great holy day at the Metropolitan; ſome of the new Patriarch's attendants waited for me, and placed me, by his order, in a ſtall at the right of his ſeat,

* A title which the Greek Biſhops have aſſumed to mark the abſolute power they poſſeſs; but of which the Grand Signior makes them feel the proper application.

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where he ſoon placed himſelf; and every thing being prepared for beginning the ſervice, he deſcended from thence, and ſeated himſelf in a chair, carried for that purpoſe, oppoſite the *ſacra ſanctorum*. There, ſeveral Deacons proceeded to inveſt him with his pontifical robes, and at length put on his head a cloſe crown of diamonds, with a double croſs upon the globe.

The Patriarch then took the patriarchal ſtaff in his left hand, and in his right a ſmall wax taper, of three branches, of which he only held two, to mark the union of the Father and the Son, without adding the Holy Ghoſt. He obſerved the ſame form by bending the middle fingers of his hand when he gave the benediction, by which means the Holy Ghoſt ſignified by the little finger, remained ſeparated from the Son, from whom the Greeks do not believe that it proceeds.

The Patriarch was then introduced into the ſanctuary, the curtain of which was ſhut, and the people who crouded the church, and had till then obſerved a tolerably reſpectful ſilence, began to be agitated in as tumultuous a manner as the waves of the Parterre at our public theatres

tres in France; but the indecent burſts of laughter occaſioned by this agitation, were very ſoon confounded with the cries of the unhappy wretches in danger of ſuffocation. One of theſe, after having been for ſome time trodden under foot, was lifted up before me over the people's heads, which were ſo cloſely jammed together, that, with the aſſiſtance of ſome hands that raiſed him up, and puſhed him backwards, he reached the bottom of the church, where they ſent him to recover his breath in that very extraordinary manner.

This ſcene, which I viewed without danger from the height of my ſtall, by ruffling a few ears, increaſed the noiſe to ſuch a degree, that the Patriarch briſkly opening the curtain that concealed him from the people, harangued them in a diſcourſe as violent as the noiſe which had occaſioned it; and he finiſhed this paſtoral exhortation by *ſending his flock to the Devil.* But the calm which ſucceeded that harangue was of ſhort duration, and the moment of the ſacrifice approaching, it was neceſſary to have recourſe to a more efficacious method than the eloquence of the Pontiff. It was by very heavy ſtrokes of his cane that the Patriarch's

Patriarch's Janiſſary recalled the aſſembly to the attention due to the holy myſtery then about to be expoſed to them. The lateral doors of the *ſacra ſanctorum* were now thrown open, and the Deacons came out with all the inſtruments of the Greek Liturgy, to offer them ſucceſſively at the middle gate, where they announced one after the other, and with a loud voice, each of the inſtruments they carried. The Patriarchal crown, which finiſhed the proceſſion, was alone refuſed; and this teſtimony of the contempt of riches, borrowed from the holy Evangeliſts, and the ſacred veſſels, added, no doubt, to the marks of reſpect that the Patriarch had juſt given.

The ſucceeding ceremonies of the ſervice had nothing remarkable in them. I accompanied the Patriarch home, and he kept me to dinner. I took the opportunity, likewiſe, of my viſit to the *Fanal*, or Greek quarter, to wait upon the Drogman of the Porte, whoſe family, particularly attached to Madame de Tott, had made her promiſe to paſs a few days at their country houſe on the Canal. Amongſt the number of

of Archontes * whom I met with at the houſe of this interpreter of the Grand Signior, Manoly Serdar †, faithfully attached to the fate of Racovitza, the depoſed Prince of Wallachia, appeared to me to poſſeſs more ability and information than his countrymen. He won my eſteem by that diſintereſted zeal which made him prefer mediocrity with his former benefactor, to thoſe advantages his ingratitude might have procured him in the ſervice of the new Princes. No temptation had been able to ſhake his fidelity, and the reſtoration of Racovitza was the ſole object of all his meaſures. It was undoubtedly with this view, and from the opinion the elevation of Kalinico had given him of the influence of my brother-in-law, that Manoly Serdar, deſirous of a greater intimacy with him, wiſhed alſo to connect himſelf with me, as earneſtly as I did, to be acquainted with a man ſo capable of inſtructing me in the character and manners of his nation. We became more intimate in the country, where this Greek came to live near me. We were never ſe-

* A title which the opulent Greeks ſtill aſſume.

† Serdar, a Turkiſh word, Governor.

parate;

parate; and I heard him with pleaſure frequently declare, that his nation preſerved no other trace of the character of the ancient empire of the Greeks than the pride and fanaticiſm that produced its downfall. Manoly Serdar, however, had nothing left to live on but the capital he had amaſſed during the time that Prince Racovitza poſſeſſed the principality of Wallachia, and I ſaw, with regret, that the luxury of his wife, and the great number of his ſlaves, combined together to expoſe his virtue to the temptations of neceſſity, whilſt his vanity baniſhed every ſuggeſtion of œconomy.

The ſtile of familiarity in which we lived, enabled me to form an idea of his domeſtic life; and I there daily diſcovered a mixture of Greek and Turkiſh manners. A little lamp conſtantly burning before the picture of the Panaghia *, lighted at the ſame time the young ſlaves who dreſſed, and undreſſed the Serdar: this Greek, as well as all thoſe who are in ſuch eaſy circumſtances as to introduce at their houſes the Turkiſh ſervice, had alſo the cuſtom of

* The Virgin.

ſleeping

ſleeping on his ſopha after dinner, whilſt a woman, by driving away the flies with a large fan of feathers, cooled the air that he was reſpiring. Other ſlaves kneeling at his naked feet, rubbed them gently with their hands. This Aſiatic effeminacy gives room to ſuſpect, that theſe refinements are carried to greater lengths, and the ill treatment beſtowed by this Greek on his ſlaves for the ſlighteſt faults, only proves, that where the facility of enjoyment is without bounds, there is an end to delicacy.

I was at length obliged to fulfill the promiſe, made by Madame de Tott, to the lady of the chief Drogman, to paſs ſome days with her. We went to her country-houſe: the family conſiſted of the old Drogman, whoſe profeſſional knowledge compenſated for his dulneſs and groſs ignorance; but whoſe knowledge of foreign language was limited to a little bad Italian. His wife, who was not ſo far advanced in years, and who had ſubſtituted an air of Majeſty in the place of beauty, had the internal management of his houſe, of which ſhe did the honours with a ſort of frank cordiality, which ſlightly concealed

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the pride of knowing herſelf to be, in virtue of her huſband's office, the firſt perſon of her nation.

The eldeſt of her ſons, whom we ſhall ſee ſucceed his father in the principality of Moldavia, to make an unhappy end, was of a character naturally mild, but weak and vain; the younger, of a more haughty character, already announced that intriguing and ambitious ſpirit which coſt his brother his life: an eldeſt daughter, a widow at nineteen, freſher than the morning roſe, elegantly ſlender without being tall, united to the moſt bewitching graces, a certain modeſty, a ſweetneſs, and a languid air which were irreſiſtable: the younger ſiſter leſs beautiful, but lively and intereſting, was juſt betrothed to a young Greek in the neighbourhood. The intended huſband was anxious, no doubt, to become acquainted with us, and we were but juſt arrived when two or three ſlaves came to announce him, by entering precipitately in the ſaloon, where the family was aſſembled; they throw themſelves on the betrothed girl, cover her with their robes, and carry her off, crying out, like mad people, "get out of the way, there he is."

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In fact, we saw the young man enter, who, although caressed by the whole family, could never cast his eyes on the object of his desire, but by surprize. He had often tried the same experiment, but always without success. They kept him to supper, and the young girl was kept out of sight until his departure.

The hour of withdrawing being come, we were conducted into a spacious adjoining apartment, in the middle of which was a bed, without bedstead or curtains, but the coverlet and pillows surpassed in magnificence the richness of the sopha which decorated the apartment. I had but little prospect of repose on this bed, and was curious to examine it minutely. Fifteen quilted cotton mattresses, about three inches thick, laid one upon another, formed a very soft foundation, covered by a sheet of Indian linen tacked to the last mattress. A counterpane of green sattin, loaded with gold wire embroidery, embossed, was also fastened to the upper sheet, the edges of which were turned up and stitched together. Two large pillows of crimson sattin, covered with similar embroidery, in which gold plating and twisted

gold

gold thread were profuſely laviſhed, were ſupported by two cuſhions of the ſopha, brought near to ſerve by way of a back-board, and alſo to ſupport our heads. A ſmall octagon tower, inlaid with ebony and mother of pearl, formed a ſort of table at the ſide of the bed, on which was placed a large ſilver candleſtick, with a yellow wax taper, two inches thick, the wick of which as large as one's finger, ſpread a black ſmoke. Three China ſalvers, filled with conſerve of roſes, orange flowers, and citron peeling; a ſmall gold knife, with a tortoiſe ſhell handle, and a cryſtal vaſe full of water, ſurrounded this obſcure luminary, which was to ſerve us as a night lamp; a precaution abſolutely neceſſary every where from the proximity of the neighbouring houſes, which give conſtant reaſon to apprehend the fatal ravages of fire. The Drogman's houſe was preciſely in this ſituation, and every thing prepared me for a bad night's reſt. The ſuppreſſion of the pillows would have been of ſome ſervice, had there been a bolſter; and the expedient of turning them having ſerved only to diſcover the embroidery below, we were at length obliged to ſpread our handkerchiefs

over them, which did not ſecure us, however, from the impreſſion of the emboſſed flowers. After ſuch a night we were not very lazy in riſing; and we ſaw, with joy, the day break, with a determination of procuring more convenient pillows for the following night.

A fiſhing party propoſed the night before, preceded our breakfaſt, which was carried over to Aſia, where a ſmall meadow, a Turkiſh coffee-houſe, and ſome loaded carts, drawn by little buffalos, gave the ladies the proſpect of every thing agreeable that the country afforded. Our ſucceſs in fiſhing was indifferent; the ladies were well jolted, and the Turkiſh women in company were very troubleſome with their queſtions, and very inſolent in their anſwers. We brought back with us ſome jars filled with curds, and ſome creſſes gathered at a fountain; and there was but one opinion on the ſubject of the pleaſures we had juſt been enjoying.

We found at our return to the Drogman's, ſeveral Greek women of the neighbourhood, who were invited to dinner, and were already aſſembled. A ſplendid dreſs, in which vanity was evidently more con-

ſulted

ſulted than the ſeaſon, was diſplayed on a grand ſopha, in robes of black, or crimſon velvet, covered with broad gold lace on all the ſeams. The weight of theſe garments, joined to the heat of the weather, rendered theſe ladies immoveable, and almoſt mute. They held, however, a common-place converſation, with frequent repetitions of the ſame thing, and the company went to table. Dinner was ſerved in the French ſtile; a circular table, with chairs round it, ſpoons and forks; in ſhort, nothing was wanting but the habit of making uſe of them. They were deſirous, notwithſtanding, of not neglecting any part of our cuſtoms, which began to be as much in faſhion amongſt the Greeks, as the Engliſh cuſtoms are in France; and I have ſeen a woman after dinner, take the olives in her fingers, and prick them with her fork, to eat them *a la Françaiſe*. If drinking healths is no longer in faſhion with us, it is not the leſs agreeable to meet with this ancient cuſtom in other countries. Our Greeks were not wanting in this reſpect; and the men performed the ceremony ſtanding up, uncovered. But what will appear ſomewhat leſs refined, the ſame

wine-glaſs ſerved the whole company. After the dinner, where profuſion was diſplayed, more than elegance or neatneſs, the company arranged themſelves on the ſopha, in the ſame room where we had dined, and pipes ſucceeded the coffee. The converſation began on the faſhions, and finiſhed with ſcandal; the trueſt imitation of our manners that I ever ſaw in that country. The young girls amuſed themſelves in the mean time with a ſwing, ſuſpended at the other end of the room, and put in motion by the ſlaves. The women likewiſe partook of that amuſement, and were followed by the men with long beards; and the tout de table, cheſs, and panguelo, a kind of brelan, finiſhed the entertainments of the day. Towards the evening, all the company went down to take the air on the Echelle, a ſort of jttee, that advances into the ſea, to facilitate the approach of boats.

The moon was juſt appearing, and the calmneſs of the evening invited us to go on the water; when the confuſed cries of men giving and receiving blows, apprized us of the approach of the Boſtandgy Bachi. Nothing could be more alert than the women

men in hiding themſelves. The Drogman's Lady, and Madame de Tott, who had nothing to fear, were alone able to face this great officer, who made his appearance in an armed boat, with four and twenty rowers. He had been juſt chaſtizing ſome drunken fellows, and ſeizing ſome women rather too frolickſome, who had fallen into his hands. He continued his voyage, paſſing along the pier, where we ſaluted each other.

The pride of the runaway Greeks was ſeeking an excuſe for their fears, when a fiſherman paſſing by, being aſked what route the Boſtandgy Bachi had taken, ſpread a far greater alarm, by informing us, that after having landed without noiſe at the kioſk of a Greek lady, and liſtened a few minutes to the converſation, he had mounted into the window, with ſeveral of his people, and that was all he knew of the matter. But this was enough to make the fright become general, as well as a ſympathy for the fate of the poor lady of the kioſk; and they were all taken up with theſe reflections, when the future huſband of the younger daughter of the houſe arrived, once more to put her to flight, and

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to satisfy the eager curiosity of the company. "Make yourselves easy," says he, to one of our female guests, "your cousin and her friend have escaped, with the loss of all their diamonds, all their trinkets, and all the money they had about them: there was no time to hesitate; the Bostandgy Bachi surprized, and seized them, to carry them off in his boat to prison; his avarice, however, brought him at length to reason; but he has left them much less contented with their evening than they had expected."

At this recital, the rage of the Greek women could no longer be restrained; and the discussions on the right, and on the fact, continued until they were interrupted by the noise of some other small boats, which the fears of the Bostandgy Bachi magnified to an enormous size. As soon, however, as all was quiet on his account, the conversation ran entirely on different schemes for avoiding his persecutions, and nothing else was talked of, until we saw him return down the middle of the Canal, towards Constantinople. Every body was desirous of availing themselves of the liberty he now had of taking the air, and in a short

ſhort time the ſea was covered with a prodigious number of ſmall boats, in which the ladies were rowed to the ſound of muſic. Our company ſoon made part of the little fleet. We coaſted along the houſes, and criticiſed the proprietors, who from their kioſks remarked on us in their turn; and I gathered ſome hints as we paſſed along which the Boſtandgy Bachi might have turned to good account.

I had, in preference, got into a ſmall boat with the future huſband, whoſe countenance and gaiety intereſted me. The young man ſoon perceived that I was pleaſed with him, and told me, in confidence, his uneaſineſs at not being able to ſee his intended bride. I felt for his ſituation, and promiſed at a certain hour the next day, to procure him a ſight of her. He was as punctual to the rendezvous as I had been to furniſh him with the means of it; but an unlucky ſlave, who watched him, was very near diſconcerting all my projects, by giving the cry of alarm. The young lady at the ſame time perceived him, and was making her eſcape on one ſide of the gallery, where I ran to ſtop her at the entrance, calling my young Greek, who ſoon came

came up to me. A reinforcement of two old harpies, however, ran from the bottom of the gallery, ſcreaming like the geeſe of the Capitol, but they could not arrive time enough to prevent a kiſs of the future huſband, by which I was very happy to *Frenchify* the young folks; we then delivered our prey into the poſſeſſion of the enemy. The father and mother approved of my little pleaſantry, and the betrothed couple obtained the ſame day the free ſight of each other.

The Diako, a ſort of eccleſiaſtical preceptor, who was entruſted, agreeable to the cuſtom in all Greek families, with the young lady's education, was the only perſon who blamed my conduct; he ſpoke of it with ſuch warmth, as to make me conclude that he regretted the not being able to put a finiſhing hand to the education of his pupil.

We remained ſome days longer with the Drogman in the ſame round of amuſement of dulneſs or impatience. I returned home at length, to repoſe myſelf, and there found Manoly Serdar, who informed me that another Greek, attached as he was to Racovitza, had juſt abandoned him, to enter

enter into the ſervice of the Prince newly nominated by the Porte. Manoly ſeemed to me to exaggerate this crime with an affectation which bore a very ſuſpicious appearance.

I endeavoured to perſuade him, that as he might himſelf poſſibly be liable, from neceſſity, to take a ſimilar ſtep, he ought, from prudential motives, to uſe gentler terms, and not to judge ſo harſhly of a man whom, perhaps, he was on the point of imitating. "Look on me," ſays he, "as the worſt of men, if ever I change; and continue to eſteem me, if I am not guilty of ſo black a treachery." I promiſed him one and the other; and I was not long without being forced to keep my word with him; he went off, in fact, a few days after, for the purpoſe, as he ſaid, of trying ſome further expedient in favour of his benefactor; but I ſoon learnt that he too had forſaken him, and attached himſelf to the new Vayvode *. He wrote to acquaint me with the ſtep he had taken, and to aſk very humbly what I thought of

* This is the title beſtowed by the Turks on the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia; they uſe alſo the title of Bey.

him. I was aware that circumſtances might have rendered him excuſeable, had he not himſelf aggravated his fault, by his proteſtations of honour and fidelity. I anſwered, therefore, that he had himſelf dictated the opinion I ought to entertain of his conduct, and that I ſhould continue to preſerve it with more firmneſs than he had maintained his principles.

This man roſe himſelf to be Prince of Wallachia, during the laſt war of the Turks; but that ſituation has only afforded more ſcope to his intrigues, without any real diſplay of talents, and I loſt ſight of him in that obſcurity into which thoſe ephemeral beings naturally return, who ſhine for a moment by the light of the deſpot, who gratifies at once his avarice and their pride, by ſelling them a tranſient glimmering of his authority.

We ſhall ſee Sultan Oſman obliged to employ that of an inferior officer in a matter relatively of little importance, but ſo ſingular as to be worthy of remark.

A drunken Janiſſary, purſued by the guard, who carry no other weapons in general than large ſticks, availed himſelf of the

the ſuperiority he derived from his yatacan * to defend himſelf like a lion; he had already diſabled ſeveral of his enemies, and fatigued with his own efforts, was repoſing himſelf on the ſteps of a khan †, to acquire new ſtrength, whilſt the guard had changed the attack into a blockade. The Grand Signior, who frequently went through the town in a diſguiſe which deceived nobody, happening to be at hand, approaches the culprit, calls him by his name, orders him to deliver up his weapon, and ſurrender to the guard; but nothing moves the hero, who, ſupinely ſtretched out, ſtares at his ſovereign, and menaces the firſt who ſhall dare approach him. Sultan Oſman aſks him to what Orta ‡ he belongs. On his anſwer he ſends for his Caracoulouctchi §. On

* A ſort of large knife, very long and crooked at the edge, which ſerves inſtead of a ſabre.

† A public place, where merchants and travellers are lodged.

‡ Company of Janiſſaries who have no other name than the number of the rank they have amongſt each other; and in which the number of ſoldiers is unlimited. They reckon near thirty thouſand Janiſſaries in the thirty-fifth company.

§ The cook of the company, who is alſo a ſtaff officer.

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his arrival, " diſarm that man," ſays the Grand Signior to him, " and convey him to the Caſtle †."

The officer then looſened his girdle *, and holding it in his right-hand, he advances to the rebel, to whom he ſtretches out his left, ſaying, " Comrade, give me your knife, and follow me :" which was executed without reply, and with an air of the moſt perfect ſubmiſſion. Prejudice will always have more empire over men than fear, more power than deſpotiſm.

Sultan Oſman was very ſoon obliged to pay a tribute to that opinion to which he fell a victim. In vain the art of the phyſicians laboured to reſtore this Prince's health, whilſt the loſs of it was concealed, from political motives. He was obliged at length, however, ſinking under the diſorder, to ſhut himſelf up within his palace, and re-

* The Caſtle of Europe, on the Canal, where thoſe Janiſſaries are ſent who are ordered to be ſtrangled ; and if they eſcape from thence, they have at leaſt experienced the terror of it.

† A girdle of copper, that weighs 15 pounds, with which their officers can knock down a Janiſſary. The ſoldiers reſpect infinitely this mark of rank, which, although ſubordinate, is of great authority.

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ſerve his little remaining ſtrength to enable him to attend the Moſque every Friday. This public ceremony, ſanctified by cuſtom, cannot be neglected without exciting the clamours of the military, and the people.

The contradiction which appears on the contemplation of a law that binds the deſpot, vaniſhes on reflecting that it is neceſſarily dictated by the deſpotiſm of the multitude, the object of the deſpot's perpetual apprehenſions. Shut up in the impenetrability of his Seraglio, the ſight of him alone can legally prove his exiſtence. Without this precaution, a Viſir formidable or artful enough to command, or corrupt two or three perſons after the death of his maſter, might conceal it long enough to undertake any thing with impunity.

It was not, therefore, without occaſioning very loud murmurs, that Sultan Oſman omitted appearing one Friday in public; in ſo much, that to appeaſe them, he determined to go the Friday following in ceremony to Saint Sophia, the neareſt Moſque to the Seraglio, notwithſtanding the ſtate of debility and extreme langour to which his illneſs had reduced him. On his return, already

ready tottering on his horſe, and ſupported by the footmen who ſurrounded him, this Prince loſt all ſenſe between the two gates of the Seraglio. They threw a ſhawl * over his head, and he died a few minutes after he was carried to his apartments.

The Viſir, the Mufti, and the great officers of the empire, repaired immediately to the Seraglio to verify the death of Sultan Oſman, and to compliment Muſtapha the Third, the eldeſt of Sultan Achmet's ſons. The cannon of the Seraglio announced the ſame day his death to the people, and the Muezzins †, together with the public cryers, proclaimed the new Emperor.

* A ſtuff made of fine wool manufactured in Perſia and India, with which the Turks cover their heads, to guard them againſt the cold, or to conceal themſelves. They have cloaks alſo to protect them; but the Oriental Princes, when they appear in public, cannot avail themſelves of that protection from the intemperance of the air; from cuſtom they are obliged to go without it: the motives which induce them to appear, operate equally from covering themſelves with any thing which may prevent their being known.

† Muezzins, cryers of the Moſques who call the true believers to prayer, by repeating in a ſort of ſinging tone, "God is great;—God is God;—There is only one God;—Fly to Good works;—Fly to prayers;—God is God, and Mahomet is his Prophet." This laſt phraſe contains alſo their confeſſion of faith.

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Mourning, in uſe amongſt the Tartars, is not known to the Turks; but if that manner of honouring one's relations be indifferent to them, the precipitation with which they bury their dead, is certainly not a matter of indifference. It ſeems as if this nation, naturally ſo grave and liſtleſs, poſſeſſed activity only in this particular. Scarcely do they wait five or ſix hours to perform this laſt office to their relations, and the fear of burying a man in a lethargy, does not deter them *. Beſides this abominable alacrity, the Turks who carry the bier, march with an extraordinary quickneſs, for the Mahometans believe that the ſoul ſuffers until the end of the ceremony.

That of the Grand Signior's funeral differs from others only in the importance of the great officers who attend it to the Moſque. It is cuſtomary for each Emperor to build one, and in the court of the Moſque

* The miſchiefs reſulting from this uſage ſcarcely ever come to light. I have, however, ſeen a Turk dug up, who had ſtrength enough, in recovering from his lethargy, to cry out under-ground ſo loud as to be heard; but he had ſtill very nearly fallen a ſacrifice to forms, or rather to the fears which the Judge and the Iman, who had already received their fees, were under in reſtoring him.

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is the cupola, under which his body is to be depoſited. In other reſpects the Turkiſh Emperors are buried as haſtily as their ſubjects.

More than thirty years, which were elapſed ſince the death of Sultan Achmet, father of the new Emperor, had not furniſhed him with very extenſive information. Confined during this long interval to his apartments, with ſome eunuchs to attend, and ſome women to amuſe him, the conformity of his age with thoſe Princes who were to be his predeceſſors, left him little hope of ſucceeding to the throne. But he had greater cauſe of uneaſineſs; his two brothers had given no heirs to the empire, at which the people had murmured during the laſt reign, and freſh apprehenſions, or freſh murmurs of this kind, might coſt him his life. Attempts had formerly been made on it, by the means which the barbarous policy of that country makes uſe of without ſcruple towards the Princes who are near the throne: his own ſuſpicions, and knowledge of medicine, had preſerved him.

This Prince, as well as his brothers, had very ſhort legs, and appeared tall only on horſeback.

horſeback. A paleneſs, attributed to the effects of poiſon, large eyes ſtarting out of his head, his noſe rather flattened, ſeemed to indicate neither vivacity nor underſtanding. The love of novelty, however, decided the multitude in his favour. The great men thought him weak, and were in hopes of governing him; the people hoped he would be laviſh, and they were all miſtaken. We ſhall hereafter ſee this Emperor in circumſtances which will make him known; and the kindneſs with which he has diſtinguiſhed me, will give me the opportunity of developing the different ſhades of his character.

The firſt care of an Ottoman Prince, after coming to the Throne, is to let his beard grow *. Sultan Muſtapha went a ſtep farther, and painted it black, that it might be the more ſtriking on the day of his firſt public appearance to have his ſabre girt on. This is the form of taking poſſeſſion; the Coronation of the Turkiſh Emperor. This ceremony is always performed

* The Princes ſhut up in the Seraglio, wear only whiſkers, as well as the young men, who only let their beard grow to follow ſome profeſſion. They commonly call this becoming wiſe.

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in the Moſque of Youb, a ſmall village celebrated alſo for its earthen ware and dairies, and which forms a ſort of ſuburb to the city, towards the bottom of the harbour. Every thing was prepared for this ſolemnity, and on the morning of the ninth day, all the ſtreets from the Seraglio to Youb were lined on each ſide by Janiſſaries in their dreſs, and cap of ceremony, but without arms, and their hands croſſed on their girdles †.

The miniſters, the great officers, the men of the law, and, in general, all thoſe perſons, who, from their ſituations, are attached to the government, arrive early at the Seraglio, to be in readineſs to precede the Grand Signior in the proceſſion. This march begins like our proceſſions, by the perſons of the leaſt importance, who file off without order. They are all on horſeback, and each of them is ſurrounded by a group of footmen, numerous in proportion to the rank and fortune of the maſter. The men

† Except their red ſlippers and ſtockings, large blue breeches, and the bonnet, they are obliged to wear, the Janiſſaries dreſs themſelves as they pleaſe, and the uniform is only diſtinguiſhable from the cut of the cloaths.

of

of the law are remarkable for the great ſize of their turbans and the ſimplicity of their horſes houſing; but the Janiſſary Aga's retinue affords the moſt ſplendid picture in the whole claſs of great officers. Beſides the number of ſervants around his horſe, he is preceded by two rows of Tchorbadgis †, who march on foot to the right and left before their General. Theſe principal officers, with yellow boots, the corners of their robes tucked up within their girdle, each of them carrying a white ſtaff in his hand, and his head covered with a helmet embroidered with gold, on the top of which is a large plume of feathers in the manner of the Romans, form a long alley of feathers, at the bottom of which is ſeen the Janiſſary Aga, who overtops the crowd of his attendants; but an object of real curioſity is the habit of the Achetchy Bachi ‡, who walks on foot between the two ranks of Colonels, of whom I have been ſpeaking,

† Colonel of the Janiſſaries; the word literally is 'giver of ſoup."

‡ Head of the kitchen; each company has one, who does the duty of Major; he ſuperintends the living and the principal police. That of the Janiſſary Aga does the duty of Major General.

and

and only a few paces before this General. An enormous church veſtment of black leather, ſtudded with ſilver nails, covers a boddice alſo of leather as ridiculouſly ornamented. This little waiſtcoat is fixed on him by a large girdle, with hooks and hinges, from which hang two enormous knives, the handles of which almoſt entirely cover the face of the Major; whilſt ſpoons, cups, and other ſilver utenſils, ſuſpended by chains of the ſame metal, ſcarcely leave him the uſe of his feet. In fact, he is ſo loaded, that on all public occaſions when he is obliged to appear in this dreſs, two Janiſſaries attend him to bear up his garment.

The Tchaouche Bachi, one of the Miniſters of the Porte, whoſe employment is eſſentially connected with the civil adminiſtration, is preceded by the ſergeants of whom he is the chief, and each of whom wears an oſtrich feather on the ſide of his turban. The Boſtandgy Bachi is alſo preceded by two files of Boſtandgis, ſtaff in hand, whoſe habits and head-dreſſes of ſcarlet cloth, preſent to the eye an uniformity far from diſagreeable. Theſe different officers of the empire ſalute the Janiſſaries to the right and left, who line the ſtreet, and who

who anſwer by an inclination of the body; but they pay that homage with much more reſpect to the turbans alone of the Grand Signior, which are borne in ceremony before his Highneſs. Two of theſe head-dreſſes, with their tufts of feathers, were at firſt intended only as a change for the Emperor, in caſe he ſhould think proper; but that cuſtom of pure convenience has become in the end an object of pomp and oſtentation.

Theſe turbans, placed on ſorts of tripods, of ſilver gilt, are borne by two horſemen, in their right hands, ſurrounded by a great number of Tchoadars, and theſe officers have only to incline the turbans a little to the right and left, as the Janiſſaries, to the number of ſeven or eight at a time, bend moſt profoundly to ſalute the Imperial Aigrets.

In this proceſſion, as curious to behold as difficult to deſcribe, the Viſir and the Mufti, both clad in white, the former in ſattin, the latter in cloth, march by the ſide of each other, ſurrounded by their attendants, and preceded by two led horſes and the

the chatirs * of the Viſir. On the ſide of this Miniſter, march the Alaytchaouches, †, who keep conſtantly moving their ſilver ſtaves, ornamented with ſmall chains, not unlike childrens rattles, and the noiſe of which accompanies him even to his own Palace. A loaded waggon, clumſily made, badly carved, but richly gilt, contains a ſmall ſopha, and uſually follows the Mufti to receive him when he is fatigued.

At laſt come the captains of the guards of the interior of the Seraglio, and the principal and inferior equerries, who precede the led horſes of the Grand Signior. Theſe horſes are covered with very rich houſing, which drag upon the ground, and leave nothing viſible but their heads, and their fronts are ornamented with a tuft of herons feathers; each of them carries alſo a horſe's tail, ſuſpended to the collar, and on the ſaddle a ſabre and a pile of arms, paſſed through the ſurcingle, are covered by a ſhield. Each horſe is led by two footmen, who hold a long ſtrap faſtened to their

* A ſort of footmen, diſtinguiſhed by girdles of ſilver gilt.

† A ſort of tipſtaff, attached to the dignity of Pacha.

heads;

heads; immediately after follow two ranks of Aſſekis *, with their ſabres ſlung acroſs the body, and white ſtaves in their hands. A troop of Zuluftchis ‡, with helmets of ſilver gilt, and uplifted lances, march alſo in two files, and precede the Peiſks. Theſe latter in the Roman dreſs, carry the faſces on the top of which is a ſilver axe, and march before the ſolacks §, who, wearing a ſort of buſkin, and armed with bows and arrows, are adorned with a rich helmet, crowned with a plume of feathers in the form of a fan, which, joining at the extremities, form two rows, in the middle of which the Grand Signior marches alone on horſeback. The Prince's tuft overtops this magnificent group. His approach inſpires a gloomy ſilence. The Janiſſaries make a profound reverence until the row of feathers

* The Aſſekis are a picked corps from the Boſtandgis.

‡ The Zuluftchis are another ſort of troops for the interior of the Seraglio; they are richly clad, and wear two long curls of hair, which, faſtened to their bonnet near the temples, came down as low as their ſhoulders.

§ Solacks: This word means left-handed. They are to defend the perſon of the ſovereign. They who are on his right hand muſt draw their bows with their left. This is, no doubt, the origin of their name.

hides

hides the Emperor from their view. On his ſide, his Highneſs has the civility to anſwer this ſalute, by a ſlight motion of the head, as he paſſes, to right and left.

An infinite number of Tchoadars encompaſs and follow the Grand Signior. They ſurround alſo the Selictar Aga, who bears the Imperial ſabre on his ſhoulder, and wears a dreſs of gold ſtuff, which is the only one amongſt them that fits the ſhape.

The Kiſlar Aga appears next, followed by the Kaſnadar Aga *, who cloſes the proceſſion, and diſtributes money to the croud who follows him. The Capidgilar Kiayaſſy §, and the Boſtandgy Bachi, who go before the Grand Signior on all public occaſions, on their return to the Seraglio muſt alight at the end of the firſt court, to be ready to precede his Highneſs. They quicken their pace accordingly; when they

* Every body knows that the Kiſlar Aga is the chief of the eunuchs; next to him is the Kaſnadar Aga, as black, and not leſs an eunuch than himſelf; whoſe employment is to take care of the private treaſure, and to throw money amongſt the people on public ceremonies.

§ Captain of the Guards of the Porte.

come

come near, proſtrate themſelves at his horſe's feet, and introduce the Prince into the ſecond court, marching before him to the place where he diſmounts, and where he is received by the domeſtic officers of the Seraglio.

The celebrated Rachub Pacha, who had juſt buried his old maſter, and inſtalled his new one, was the firſt to perceive that Sultan Muſtapha, to the full as ignorant, but not ſo inactive as he imagined him, muſt have employment. I have already painted the character of this firſt Miniſter. It will not, therefore, appear extraordinary that his earlieſt occupation was inhumanly to urge his maſter to renew the ſumptuary laws, and to ſee them carried into execution himſelf with the utmoſt rigour. He was no leſs deſirous of encouraging his ignorance, and of rendering his authority odious to the public.

The firſt acts of his authority were marked with violence and extreme barbarity. The public cryers had not yet finiſhed the proclamation of the law, when the Grand Signior diſguiſed, as well as the executioners of his pleaſure who attended him, in-

flicted punishments on such Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, as he found wearing the colours which are prohibited these three nations. An unfortunate Christian beggar, with an old pair of yellow * Morocco slippers, bestowed on him in charity by a Turk, was stopt by the Grand Signior, and this excuse was not sufficient to save his life. Every day gave birth to some new horror.

The Turks themselves were comprized in this law, which determined even the sort of furs permitted to be worn by each profession, and regulated the make of the cloaths, and the heighth of the head-dress of the women. The Europeans were only exempted, by submitting to wear their cloaths after their own fashion. This law alone, by subjecting them to it, ought for ever to have preserved the Ambassadors from the humiliation of seeing the persons they protected, bastinadoed and otherwise ill-treated, which the Turks would not have attempted if they had never given them any other than foreign dresses.

Two unfortunate events, however, made them relax in this prosecution: it is only

* This colour is reserved for the slippers of the Turks.

from

from freſh diſaſters that human nature, ſuffering under deſpotiſm, is relieved from thoſe ſhe already undergoes; and I ſhall ſtrengthen this remark by obſerving, that when any perſon is aſked his age at Conſtantinople, he always replies by quoting the year of the great plague, of the famine, the period of ſuch a rebellion, or of ſuch a conflagration.

The Grand Signior's fleet was in the Archipelago, employed in exacting a tribute from its wretched inhabitants, which they always pay fourfold from this mode of collection; and the caravan of pilgrims for Mecca, was on the road to Damaſcus. Conſtantinople received at the ſame time the intelligence that the Admiral's ſhip, whilſt the officers and greateſt part of the crew were on ſhore, had been run away with, and carried to Malta by the ſlaves on board; and that the caravan, in ſpite of the Pacha, the cannon, and the troops that eſcorted it, had been attacked and cut to pieces by the Arabs of the Deſert. The prejudices and vanity of the people, wounded at once by theſe two cataſtrophes, they loſt all reſpect, and the conſternation encouraging their inſolence, they had the har-

dineſs to murmur loudly againſt the Grand Signior, and to impute to him theſe melancholy events.

Every thing which threatened the eſtabliſhed order with too hazardous a commotion, muſt neceſſarily diſturb Rachub Pacha, and that artful Miniſter ſoon diſcovered an expedient to divert the attention of the people, and point it to an agreeable object. The famine ſtill freſh in their minds, furniſhed him with the means. He circulated amongſt the public the magnificent project of dividing Aſia Minor by a navigable canal *, fit for the conveyance of proviſions, that the capital might no longer be expoſed to the riſk and uncertainty of ſea voyages. It would be neceſſary for this end to join the river Zachary to the town of Iſnic, the ancient Niceum, by means of a lake ſituated mid-way, the waters of which, by the conſtruction of locks, and ſupplied by ſeveral rivers that might be turned into it, would become inexhauſtible. The Drogman of the Porte was ſent on a commiſſion to M. de Vergennes to demand my aſſiſtance. I

* Rachub Pacha, better informed than the Turks generally are, had borrowed this project, no doubt, from Pliny.

went

went in consequence to the Porte to consult on a plan of operations, and even some of the Ministers took journeys to gather information on the spot; but this whole project, which was only a pretext, vanished with the discontents it had contributed to remove.

This event gave me the first insight into the ignorance of the Turks, which I have since completely verified. I was hardly arrived at the Porte before they presented a Greek to me, who, as they said, would be of the greatest service to us in the undertaking. He was the cleverest fellow in the empire: I asked him some questions on levelling, and was very soon able to appreciate his talents, on his shewing me a small plate of copper with which he was to work, and which had at first escaped my notice, for this rare instrument was surrounded by a great number of spectators, ravished with admiration.

As for the unhappy pilgrims of the caravan, the matter terminated by looking on them as martyrs; and his most Christian Majesty having had the goodness to purchase at Malta, and to restore the vessel

and

and the Admiral's flag * which the ſlaves had carried off, calm was re-eſtabliſhed for ſome time in Conſtantinople.

The Grand Signior, however, fortunately found other employment for his activity than the ſumptuary laws. The coin, the verification of the treaſury accounts, very ſoon occupied his whole time. He retrenched alſo ſeveral abuſes in the expenditure of his harem, and fixed the annual ſum for the maintenance of his women †. The Kiſlar Aga too, loſt, under this reign, all the importance of his office in the adminiſtration of the Vakoufs, which was given to the Viſir; but a ſpeculation, always dangerous for the Sovereign, propoſed to his Highneſs

* This flag was the more intereſting, as having been given to the Grand Signior by Mecca, the Turks affixed a ſuperſtitious value on it. The names of the Prophet's Diſciples at the four angles, a two edged ſabre for the eſcutcheons, and ſome paſſages of the Alcoran woven in ſilk, on a crimſon ſtuff, for border, give this flag a taliſmanic air, which always makes its loſs more painful than its poſſeſſion is of utility.

† I have been aſſured that the article of each woman's dreſs was rated at two hundred and fifty livres a year, about ten guineas Engliſh, which could not have been very ſumptuous.

by

by one of his favourites, produced such a diminution in the coin, that the false coiners in Turkey work at this day in favour of the people; no matter what alloy they employ, the Grand Signior's coin is invariably below the nominal value of their money.

The revenues of the empire were not augmented by this manœuvre. The Pachas, who were at once the farmers of the revenue, and governors of the provinces, were not become less rapacious. The eye of the Sovereign was only more attentively fixed on their conduct, for the purpose of despoiling them of the produce of their rapine *: their oppressions continued, and the

* This species of confiscation is paid into the private treasury of the Grand Signior. The complaints of the provinces against their governors, make him acquainted with the fortunes of the oppressors; and the Sovereign's justice highly offended, no doubt, indemnifies itself, by taking possession of the sums extorted. The unfortunate wretches who cry distress, obtain nothing but the culprit's head, and the new oppressor who succeeds him, makes them almost always regret the former. The system of the Turkish finances consists in placing on the surface a great number of spunges, which swelling with the dew, afford

the danger of appearing rich, did no more than check that prodigality which makes a ſort of reſtitution to the public.

Commerce, attacked in its circulation, very ſoon experienced that ſort of langour which invariably produces the greateſt diſorders. The artizans were deſtitute of work, and the want of employment, joined to need, hurried the people on to crimes. The hope of pillage, and the deſire of revenging themſelves on the rich, multiplied the fires.

A *coundak*, a ſort of combuſtible that conſiſts only in putting a piece of tinder, wrapped in brimſtone matches, in the midſt of a ſmall bundle of pine ſhavings, is the method uſually employed by theſe incendiaries. They lay this match by ſtealth behind a door which they find open, or on a window, and after ſetting it on fire, they make their eſcape. This is ſufficient very often to produce the moſt terrible ravages in a town, where the houſes built of wood, and painted with aſpic oil, afford the eaſieſt

afford the Sovereign the means of acquiring all, by ſqueezing them into a reſervoir, of which he only keeps the key.

oppor-

opportunity to the firſt miſcreant who is diſpoſed to reduce them to aſhes.

This method employed by the incendiaries, and which often eſcapes the vigilance of the maſters of houſes, added to the common cauſes of fires, gave, for ſome time, very frequent alarms; but this ſpecies of miſchief was at length put an end to, by the pregnancy of one of the women of the Seraglio; and, above all, by the freſh activity which this intelligence gave to commerce. The preſents uſual on theſe occaſions were prepared; every thought was turned towards the *Donanemas* *, which had not taken place in the courſe of two reigns; and the employment of individuals, reſtored the calm, the continuance of which this event inſured, by adding to the weight of the Grand Signior's authority. In fact, of whatſoever ſex the child in embryo might prove, this pregnancy at leaſt promiſed heirs to the empire. Sultan Muſ-

* The public rejoicings for the birth of the Ottoman princes. In general, when a princeſs is born, they are given only on the ſea, but it was determined that there ſhould be extraordinary entertainments on the birth of the firſt child of either ſex, after ſo long a ſterility.

tapha, more brilliant than uſual, appeared in public with a certainty of pleaſing. Some money diſtributed amongſt the people, accompliſhed his popularity, which is always to be purchaſed by condeſcending to ſpend a little money, and by ſkilfully uſing a little addreſs to obtain it.

Murad Mollach had committed errors in this particular: he had not paid ſufficient attention to the multitude. His friends apprized him, that in his ſituation it was neceſſary to ſtand better with the people, if he wiſhed to attain the firſt employments. To pleaſe them, therefore, and to ingratiate himſelf with his maſter, the Effendi, availing himſelf of the occaſion, he prepared an entertainment for the event, which excited the public joy in the meadow of Buyukdéré.

I ſhall not be blamed for dwelling on theſe details, which offer the genuine picture of the manners and cuſtoms of a nation.

A rope was ſtretched from the top of two poſts, placed at the diſtance of forty feet from each other; ſuſpended to this rope were ſeveral pieces of cord, with glaſs lamps placed at proper diſtances for the objects

jects the illuminations were intended to repreſent *. The Grand Signior's cypher, the plan of his boat, a ſelection of words from the Coran, applicable to the ſubject, ornamented the illumination during the three days that the entertainment laſted, whilſt rope-dancers, a company of Jewiſh players, and women-dancers, continued to amuſe the ſpectators very late in the night. But this picture appeared to me the moſt curious by the light of about twenty iron chafing-diſhes, raiſed on ſtakes, where a conſtant red flame was kept, by means of pitched rags and fir-wood.

Theſe doleful chandeliers were placed in a circle, to light the buffoons, who occupied the centre, and the tents prepared for Murad Mollach and his company, formed, with the croud of aſſiſtants, a great line of circumvallation, part of which was occupied by the women of the populace.

* The principal Moſques are illuminated in the ſame manner during the Ramazan: their Minarets ſerve as poſts to faſten the principal rope, from whence the lamps are ſuſpended by rings, which ſlide along as they are lighted from the gallery of one of the Minarets, and as from the gallery of the oppoſite Minaret they draw a ſmall rope, that joins and ſupports them at proper diſtances.

The

The illumination placed without this laſt ring, ſerved only as the ſign of invitation to the entertainment, the moſt precious article of which was undoubtedly the Comedy.

A ſort of cage, three feet ſquare, and ſix feet high, incloſed by a curtain, repreſents a houſe, in which is one of the Jewiſh actors in women's dreſs; another Jew, dreſſed as a young Turk, and ſuppoſed to be in love with the lady of the houſe; a valet, no bad buffoon; another Jew in woman's cloaths, playing the lady of eaſy virtue; a huſband who is duped; all the perſonages, in ſhort, one ſees on every ſtage, occupied the exterior, and compoſed the piece. But what one ſees no where elſe, is the *denouément*; every thing paſſes on the ſtage, nothing is left to the imagination of the ſpectators; and if the cry of the Muezzin * happens to be heard during theſe tranſactions, the Muſſulmen turn towards Mecca, whilſt the actors continue their parts. And I ſhall have ſaid enough of this whimſical aſſemblage of momentary

* The perſon who at the top of the Miranets calls the people to prayer.

devo-

devotion, and continual indecency, if the reader perceives that this picture, difficult to deſcribe in writing, would be ſtill more ſo for the pencil.

A ſet of aukward rope-dancers, and clnmſy wreſtlers, ſome vulgar buffoons, and ſtrolling women-dancers, filled up the interval between the Comedies. Amongſt theſe women, whoſe merit certainly does not conſiſt either in the elegance of their ſteps, or in the gracefulneſs of their attitudes, but who give infinite pleaſure to the Turks by ſuch talents as they poſſeſs, one young girl of ten or twelve years old, of very promiſing agility, was particularly diſtinguiſhed; and after each dance, when ſhe went round, as was the cuſtom, with the Diare *, to collect in money the value of thoſe agreeable ideas with which ſhe had furniſhed the company, the principal Turks of Murad Mollach's company put her up to auction, bidding one againſt another, placing ſequins at the ſame time on her forehead †, as a mark of their favour. The value

* Tambour de baſque, that ſerves to mark the meaſure.

† The Sequin is a gold coin ſo light, that by placing it on the forehead it ſticks ſometimes, and this is the manner

value of this ſlave, whoſe face, notwithſtanding, had nothing extraordinary to diſtinguiſh it, roſe to the ſum of twelve purſes *, which an old Mollach gave the merchants, as the price of the barren pleaſure of perpetuating thoſe ideas which he had loſt the hopes of realizing.

Except at the public entertainments, where the licence is unbounded, and permitted, the actors never diſplay their talents, but in private houſes, where they are ſent for on feaſts or weddings. Theſe companies of wretched mountebanks are always compoſed either ſolely of men or women. The companies of women repreſent the inſide of the Harems with as much diſtinction, and as little reſerve, as the comedians of whom we have been ſpeaking;

manner in which the Turks reward the agility of the dancers.

* The purſe is of the numerical value of 500 piaſtres, and which would be equal to 1500 livres French, or 62l. 10s. ſterling, if the adulteration of the Grand Signior's coin was not carried ſo far, as no longer to admit of compariſon, and which the Exchange of Commerce has ſince reduced to 25 or 30 per cent. but without reaching the level of the comparative value of the intrinſic ſpecie.

but

but muſic is the common and moſt familiar amuſement of the Turks.

Their martial muſic is of the moſt barbarous kind; enormous drums, ſtruck with a kind of mallet, mix a dead noiſe with the clear and lively ſound of the ſmall kettle-drums, which are accompanied by clarinets, and the ſhrill trumpets, the tones of which they force to complete the moſt diſcordant craſh that can be imagined.

Their chamber muſic, on the contrary, is very ſoft; and if one is diſpleaſed with the monotony of ſemi-tones, which at firſt is very diſagreeable, one cannot but allow it a ſort of melancholy expreſſion, with which the Turks are very powerfully affected. A violin with three ſtrings, tuned to the Jew's harp, the viol d'amour, which they have adopted, the Derviſe flute, ſofter than our German flute, the tambour, a ſort of mandoline, with a long handle, and wire ſtrings, the reed, or Pan's flute, and the tambour de baſque, to mark the time, uſually compoſe their orcheſtra. It is placed at the bottom of an apartment, where the muſicians, ſquat upon the ground, play melodious, or quick airs, without written muſic, but always in uniſon, whilſt the company

company in profound ſilence, get intoxicated with an enthuſiaſtic langour, by ſmoaking their pipes, and taking pills of opium.

Thoſe amongſt the Turks who give themſelves up to an immoderate uſe of opium, are eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed by a ſort of ricketty complaint, which this poiſon produces in courſe of time. Deſtined to live agreeably only when in a ſort of drunkenneſs, theſe men preſent, above all, a curious ſpectacle, when they are aſſembled in a part of Conſtantinople, called *Teriaky Tcharchiſſy*, the Market of Opium-eaters.

It is there, that towards the evening, one ſees the lovers of opium arrive by the different ſtreets which terminate at the *Solymania* *, whoſe pale and melancholy countenances would inſpire only compaſſion, did not their ſtretched necks, their heads twiſted to the right or left, their back bones crooked, one ſhoulder up to their ears, and a number of other whimſical attitudes which are the conſequences of the diſorder, preſent the moſt ludicrous and moſt laughable picture.

* The greateſt Moſque in Conſtantinople.

A long

A long row of little ſhops is built againſt one of the walls of the place where the Moſque ſtands; theſe ſhops are ſhaded by an harbour, which communicates from one to the other, and under which every merchant takes care to place a ſmall ſopha for his cuſtomers to ſit on, without hindering the paſſage, who place themſelves in ſucceſſion to receive a doſe proportioned to the degree of habit and want they have contracted The pills are ſoon diſtributed; the moſt experienced ſwallow four of theſe, larger than olives, and every one drinking a large glaſs of cold water upon it, waits in ſome particular attitude for an agreeable reverie, which, at the end of three quarters of an hour, or an hour at moſt, never fails to animate theſe machines, and make them geſticulate in a hundred different manners; but they are always very extraordinary and very gay. This is the moment when the ſcene becomes moſt intereſting; all the actors are happy; each of them returns home in a ſtate of total ebriety, but in the full and perfect poſſeſſion of a happineſs which reaſon is not able to procure him. Deaf to the

the hootings of the paſſengers they meet with, who divert themſelves by making them talk nonſenſe, every one of them firmly believes himſelf in poſſeſſion of what he wiſhes; they have the appearance and the feeling of it: the reality frequently does not produce ſo much pleaſure.

The ſame thing happens in private houſes, where the maſter ſets the example of this ſtrange debauch. The men of the law, the moſt ſubject to it, and all the Derviſes, uſed to get drunk with opium, before they learnt to prefer the exceſs of wine. There are in Turkey two kinds of this ſpecies of Monks, very different from each other, but equally remarkable. The difference between them proceeds from the ſort of regulation that their founder has impoſed reſpectively upon them; that of the Mewliach Derviſe is to turn round like a totum, to the ſound of a tolerably ſoft muſic, and to acquire a holy intoxication from the vertigos, which are the natural conſequence of this ſtrange exerciſe, if habit did not prevent that effect, which, however, they generally make up for at the tavern. The cuſtom of the other Monks, called

called *Tacta-tepen* *, is more doleful, and more ſavage. It conſiſts in gravely marching one after another round their chapel, and pronouncing the name of God with a loud voice, which they ſtrain at every ſtroke of a drum beaten on the occaſion; but very ſoon the ſtrokes gradually following cloſer, become ſo loud, that theſe wretches are obliged to make great exertions of their lungs, and the moſt devout never finiſh the proceſſion without ſpitting blood. The appearance of theſe Monks is always gloomy and auſtere, and they are ſo perſuaded of the ſanctity of their practice, and ſo ſure of pleaſing Heaven by their howlings, that they never look on other men but with the moſt profound contempt.

There are other Monks alſo in Turkey, and Santons, who go about the country: it is dangerous to meet them in a wood; under the cloak of religion they get admittance to the houſes of devotees, and are every where the worſt company one can find.

* Beater on boards. Perhaps in the beginning they had no other inſtrument.

Such

Such of the Derviſes as are impudent enough to profit by the general ignorance, ſet themſelves up for prophets, and prophecy unpuniſhed. If the event has juſtified the predictions they have hazarded, they paſs immediately for ſaints, and are held in the higheſt eſtimation; but even thoſe who are unſucceſsful paſs only for fools, but do not forfeit their right of admittance every where. Nothing can reſiſt their effrontery; the name of God, proſtituted by theſe knaves, has always an influence on the ſuperſtitious multitude; and I have ſeen one of them come and ſeat himſelf with the greateſt inſolence, by the ſide of the Viſir, whilſt I was in ſecret converſation with him, and people of the higheſt rank were kept at a diſtance. The fanaticiſm of the public compels a tacit ſubmiſſion in the more enlightened, and the moſt powerful Turks cannot get rid of this rabble for a moment without giving them money, the only effect of which is to render them more troubleſome and inſolent.

Rachub Pacha, better informed than the Turks are in general, whether with a view of deſtroying ignorance, or to leave behind him a monument of his taſte for literature, built

built at his own expence, a large dome, for the purpoſe of founding a public library, there being no ſuch inſtitution at Conſtantinople. A thouſand or twelve hundred Arabic or Perſian manuſcripts, which the Viſir had collected and bequeathed to this library, were ranged on ſhelves, diſpoſed in the form of circular pyramids, in the centre of the rotunda. A librarian was appointed, the public had the right of entering at ſtated hours, and Rachub founded the neceſſary expence. But nothing certainly will ever lay the foundation of the inſtruction of the Turks, as long as the difficulties of their language preſcribe its limits to the ſole talent of reading and writing.

The preſs might have extended them: one Ibrahim Effendi had eſtabliſhed that uſeful art of multiplying copies; he even printed ſeveral works, but which had a very indifferent ſale, although he ſelected the moſt promiſing. But what ſucceſs, in fact, could be expected from an art, which on the firſt glance, reduced to nothing the talents of thoſe who paſſed for men of knowledge? They became at once judges and parties in their own cauſe: the art of printing

printing could not attain the perfection of joining the letters; it was deſpiſed, and Ibrahim ſhut up ſhop.

Rachub himſelf was not free from that falſe ſcience which takes a pride in overcoming difficulties. He amuſed himſelf with joining the letters ſo as they could not be decyphered; and above every thing, he delighted in playing upon words: many ſtrokes of this bad kind of wit, tolerably pleaſant, are ſtill recounted of him, but which, from the very circumſtance of their belonging to the Turkiſh gloſſary, cannot be tranſlated.

Diſengaged by the natural energy of his mind from all thoſe prejudices which degrade almoſt univerſally the Turkiſh nation, this Viſir derived a ſource of entertainment even from the moſt atrocious objects. We may ſuppoſe that Mahometaniſm itſelf did not eſcape his pleaſantry.

An European preſents himſelf one day at the Porte, and ſignified by his geſtures more than by his language, that he wiſhed to become a Turk, and that he was a German. Beſides the neceſſity of calling ſome perſon who could underſtand him, it is expreſsly ſtipulated by treaties, that no European

European can lawfully renounce his religion but in the preſence of a Drogman.—One of the interpreters of the German embaſſy was found, and conducted to the Viſir, whom he informed that the new comer was a native of Dantzick, which place he had quitted expreſsly for the purpoſe of embracing the Mahometan religion at Conſtantinople. This reſolution appeared to Rachub too ſingular not to excite his curioſity to know the real motive; and the candidate, queſtioned a ſecond time, devoutly replied, —" That Mahomet had appeared to him in a viſion, to invite him to merit all the favours beſtowed upon his followers."—— " There is a ſtrange rogue for you!" ſays the Viſir, " Mahomet has appeared to him at Dantzick!—To an infidel! when, notwithſtanding the exactneſs with which I have ſaid the five prayers to him for more than ſeventy years, he has never done me that honour. Tell him, Drogman, that nobody deceives me with impunity; that he muſt, doubtleſs, have killed his father and mother; that I will order him to be hanged up, if he does not tell me the truth." Terrified at this menace, the traveller confeſſed that he had been a ſchool-maſter

maſter at Dantzick, and that after ſome time, he had been ſo unlucky as to furniſh matter for ſome diſagreeable ſuſpicions: that the parents of the boys entruſted to his care had cruelly perplexed him; that, at length the magiſtrates were diſpoſed to handle him a little roughly; that to eſcape from their ſentence, and well informed that at Conſtantinople they did not make ſuch a ſtir about ſuch a trifle, he was come to change his head-dreſs, in hopes of being very ſoon himſelf ſufficiently inſtructed to contribute alſo to the education of the Turkiſh youth. "Make him declare his confeſſion of faith," replied the Viſir, "and take this convert to ſuch a Mollach's houſe, who muſt provide for his ſupport: they are formed for each others ſociety; I make him a preſent of this comrade; but let the Iman of the quarter be told to go and inſtruct them both, and acquaint them, *that no religion has ever tolerated their doctrine.*

The practice regularly purſued by the Turkiſh Emperors of building and endowing a Moſque, has ſo multiplied theſe temples, that building-ground was become very ſcarce at Conſtantinople. Sultan Maha-

Mahamout had determined to erect one at Scutary; he died, and Sultan Osman finished it. Mustapha, however, found means to purchase in his capital a piece of ground large enough for the Mosque which he intended building. This Prince, to supply the deficiency of those houses he was about to destroy, and to endow this new Mosque, had formed the project of making a jettée, on a shallow bank of the Sea of Marmora, near the walls of the city, there to form a new quarter.

The ignorance of the architects strove a long time, and under great disadvantages, against the waves of the sea; and avarice, which learns to its cost, that there is no true œconomy but in well placed expences, was at length compelled to give way to necessity; all the money which had been lavished until that time was thrown away; every thing must be begun at fresh expence; caissoors were employed, and this expedient succeeding, the work was completed.

The principal part of the Turkish proprietors of houses, purchased for the site of the Mosque, became inhabitants of the new buildings, and renters of the new temple,

which was finiſhed under the reign of its founder. The intereſt or religious zeal of the proprietors preſented no obſtacle to Muſtapha in the purchaſe of ſuch houſes as were convenient for his plan. Sultan Soliman, the greateſt Ottoman Prince, was not ſo fortunate in ſimilar circumſtances; and the anecdote in queſtion appears to me the more intereſting, as it may give ſome idea of the legal value of property in Turkey.

The ſite of the projected Solimania was fixed on, and Sultan Soliman ſeemed to have no impediment to fear in the neceſſary purchaſes; when a Jew, poſſeſſor of a houſe of little value, refuſed to part with it at any price. The moſt tempting offers were made him without ſucceſs. The Iſraelite remained inflexible, and his obſtinacy prevailed over his avarice. Every perſon of Sultan Soliman's Court, accuſtomed to ſee the univerſe bend before this Prince, anticipated with applauſe the proſpect of ſeeing the Jew's houſe razed from its foundation, and the Jew himſelf dragged to condign puniſhment; but fortunate are thoſe Princes who do not confound the man with the Sovereign, nor imagine they have a right to exerciſe their authority to gratify their

their perſonal reſentment! Fortunate the Princes who ſtay till juſtice pronounces in their cauſe, and whoſe minds are ſo enlarged as to look beyond the applauſes of their ſurrounding courtiers!

Such was Sultan Soliman.—He deſcended from the throne to interrogate the law. "A man," wrote he to the Mufti, "intends raiſing a temple to the divinity; all the Muſſulmen, proprietors of the ground neceſſary for the purpoſe, haſten to partake of the good work, by ſelling their houſes; one perſon only, and he a Jew, obſtinately refuſes every offer:—What puniſhment does he deſerve?"—"None," replies the Mufti; "the property of individuals is ſacred without diſtinction, and a temple cannot be erected to God whoſe very foundation reſts on the violation of ſo holy a law. It is favourable in this inſtance to the Jews apparent deſire of leaving his children a property, the value of which might otherwiſe be diſſipated; but this ground may be rented, that is the Sovereign's right whenever he has occaſion for a houſe. An agreement muſt, therefore, be made with the Jew and his heirs for a certain annual rent; by this means his property will remain in-

violate, the houſe may be knocked down, and the Moſque built without fearing that the prayers of the Muſſulmen will be rejected." The Mufti's fetfa was carried into execution.

It is uſual on founding Moſques, to add the endowment of public ſchools, where the children of the diſtrict go to learn their prayers. Many rich perſons build fountains alſo, and Namas-Giack * to point out to devout Muſſulmen the direction of Mecca. This ſort of luxury diſplays itſelf with profuſion, particularly in the country. Superſtition has multiplied theſe little eſtabliſhments; they are worth a great number of indulgencies, and the Turk who obtains them has a daily demand.

Thoſe, of which perſons in office are in continual want to ſave themſelves in this world, are purchaſed rather higher; and the neceſſity they are under of preſerving the Grand Signior's favour, furniſhes a temptation for avarice, ambition, and fear, to make innumerable ſpeculations, and very

* Ground laid out for prayers. A ſtone on which the profeſſion of faith is uſually written, points out the direction of Mecca; whilſt a fountain ſerves the Muſſulmen for ablution.

often

often erroneous calculations. The moſt œconomical method, undoubtedly, when it ſucceeds, is to obtain the Grand Signior's acceptance of a ſlave that pleaſes him, and who will be grateful enough to uſe her intereſt in favour of her former maſter. I have ſeen, at my mother in law's, one of thoſe Georgian women deſtined by Sultana Aſma to the ſuperlative honour of amuſing his Highneſs, and I perceived nothing very ſtriking in her more than a girl of eighteen years old, of a middle ſize, very robuſt, and who might paſs for a good pretty alehouſe wench. She had, it muſt be owned, large black eyes, the beauty of which, common enough in Turkey, would have diſtinguiſhed her in any other country; but they were inanimate, and the *ſurmé* they were blackened with did not render them more agreeable.

I will not incur the reproach of neglecting to ſpeak of the drug ſo celebrated, and ſo much made uſe of throughout Aſia. It is a black, impalpable powder, ſo volative that it adheres in a ſort of dew to a braſs wire, fixed to the cork of the flaſk which contains it. The art of uſing it conſiſts in drawing out the braſs wire, of which the cork

cork forms the handle, without touching the edges of the flaſk, ſo as to ſhake off the black powder. They put the point of this needle into the inner corner of the eye, keeping the eye-lids open at the ſame time, and draw it gently acroſs towards the temples, ſo as to leave two black ſtripes within the eye-laſhes, which give a very harſh air to the handſomeſt eyes; but which the Turks take for an air of ſoftneſs.

But what will appear ſtill more extraordinary, is, that the men themſelves, and, above all, the old men are guilty of this coquetry. The uſe of *ſurmé* is almoſt general. It is ſuppoſed, 'tis true, to poſſeſs the virtue of ſtrengthening the ſight; but it is more certain that the effect of *ſurmé* is diſagreeable to that ſenſe †. Every thing which

† This practice is leſs common amongſt the people, and ſeems to be more particularly confined to the ſtate of opulence, and a ſort of inaction neceſſary to this kind of beauty; for it is evident that this impalpable powder, laid ever ſo carefully on the edge of the eye-lids, would ſpread itſelf diſagreeably by a copious perſpiration. That claſs of the people, however, always moſt numerous, whoſe labour exacts a daily tribute from idle luxury, has likewiſe its peculiar mode of decoration, which conſiſts, as in almoſt all ſavage nations,

which can contribute to the preſervation of beauty, or ſupply the want of it, is ſought after in this country with extreme eagerneſs, and the *Chiotes* * at Conſtantinople are in poſſeſſion of this quackery. But never has their art of rendering the ſkin freſh, protracted the moment when it naturally ceaſes to be ſo. They may be accuſed with more apparent juſtice of accelerating the deſtruction of beauty in Turkey, did not the immoderate uſe of hot baths ruin it more effectually than the *ſulimé* †.

nations, in covering the arms and legs, and ſometimes the breaſts, with figures pricked out on the ſkin, and which being rubbed, before they are healed up, with ſome colour, preſerve that which penetrates. The blue produced by gun-powder is the moſt in uſe; and their prejudices furniſh the principal ſubject of theſe fantaſtical deſigns. The names of Jeſus and of Mahomet, diſtinguiſh the Chriſtian and the Turk employed at the ſame labour. Gallantry has likewiſe its ſhare in this ſort of ornament, and one very often ſees amorous verſes intermixed with paſſages from the Alcoran; but this ſpecies of gallantry is not always ſufficiently determinate to prevent errors on the ſubject.

* Inhabitants of Chios.

† Sulime is a ſort of paint to whiten the ſkin and make it ſhine.

The

The conſtruction of theſe baths ought to be deſcribed, that after examining their effects, we may be able to eſtimate the conſequences. Two ſmall chambers of brick, lined with marble or ſtucco, communicate with each other, and are reſpectively lighted by ſmall domes, perforated in the form of chequers. This ſmall building is joined to the houſe by an apartment to undreſs in. Double-ſaſhed doors, lined with felt, ſhut in the firſt and ſecond part of the bath. A ſubterraneous vault, to which one enters from without, ſerves to heat it. This vault is of the ſize of the lower apartment, and heats alſo a cauldron placed directly under the marble floor of the bath, up to the very cieling of the vault below, where a fire of dry wood is kept. Funnels placed in the middle of the walls, run from the inſide of the cauldron, and riſe without the cupola, to carry off the evaporated water, which is kept conſtantly boiling. Other pipes, concealed alſo in the maſonry, run from a reſervoir, and convey cold water into the building, by means of cocks placed at the ſide of thoſe which convey the hot water. Little alcoves of well poliſhed wood are diſpoſed in the form of

of ſeats, and gutters cut out of the marble carry off the water.

Theſe private baths, always heated four and twenty hours before-hand, are by theſe contrivances carried to ſuch a degree of heat, that after ſtripping quite naked in the outer chamber, and putting on very high wooden ſandels, to prevent the feet being burnt on the marble floor, one cannot ſtill advance into the firſt apartment without giving the lungs time to dilate between the two firſt doors, and this dome; it is impoſſible to proceed into the ſecond bath, under which is the real ſtove, without taking the ſame precaution; and it may ſafely be pronounced, that the air of this apartment is to that of the firſt, as that is to the external air. A ſudden perſpiration, which ſtreams from every pore, is the firſt effect on entering, but the violence of that heat, and of its effects, do not prevent the women from remaining in theſe baths five or ſix hours at a time, and from uſing them very frequently.

They who have not private baths, frequent the public ones, which are always prepared to contain a great number of people.

Some women, however, more delicate and ſcrupulous than others, take the baths for themſelves, whither they are accompanied by their female friends, and where, to complete the entertainment, they take their dinner. The charm of a greater freedom, and that of converſing together all the day, are deemed a ſufficient recompence, no doubt, for the diſagreeable choice of their place of rendezvous.

The women bathers, called *telleks*, with little bags of ſerge in their hands, rub the ſkin till it is dry. They make uſe alſo of a very fine clay, kneaded with roſe leaves, and afterwards dried in the ſun, to rub the head with, as a ſubſtitute for ſoap, pouring hot water on it at the ſame time from large metal cups. The womens hair thus cleaned and perfumed, is then plaited in a number of little treſſes.

The reader will not find, in this deſcription, the pearls, the diamonds, the rich ſtuffs, and all the charms with which Lady Mary Montague has ſet off theſe baths. One can ſcarcely believe, either, that her Ladyſhip really entered them with all her cloaths on, as the publiſher of her letters has

has made her say *. It is very certain, however, that a too frequent use of these baths opens the pores at length to such a degree, as to render them sensible to the eye; and it is no less certain, that so violent a dilatation of the fibres, by impairing the shape, brings on decrepitude before old age.

These public baths, dispersed in great numbers through every quarter of the town, serve also for the men; but not at the same hours set apart for the women. A man who should dare attempt to enter when the women are assembled there, would be severely punished for his rashness, even should he have the good fortune to escape

* In the new edition of that Lady's letters, we are assured that every thing contained in them has been verified. This assertion of the editor ought, in my opinion, to be accompanied with proofs and authorities. But the public is never difficult on the subject of errors which amuse them. Interest, which profits by this facility, is not more scrupulous; and they who only love the truth, must limit themselves to a faithful exposition, without undertaking to defend it.

the

the taſſes *, the ſandals †, and the wet peſtemals ‡ that would be thrown at him. The Turkiſh women are implacable when the only object of the men is to inſult them; but one cannot, without horror, caſt an eye on the fatal conſequences of that exceſſive debauchery to which they ſometimes abandon themſelves. I do not ſpeak of thoſe women whoſe beauty is ſo often proſtituted for money, and whoſe mutilated corpſes I have ſeen in the environs of Conſtantinople. The atrocious barbarity of thoſe men who aſſaſſinate them to ſave their money, or to avoid the danger of being apprehended in bringing them back to the city, can only be explained from motives of avarice or fear. I ſpeak of women of a higher condition, who are hurried away by an ungovernable paſſion, and eſcape clandeſtinely from their priſons. Theſe unfortunate women always

* Taſſe, a Turkiſh word, in Engliſh, cup, the pronounciation and meaning of which is French.

† Sandal; this word has alſo the ſame connection with the French language; it is a wooden ſole that fits the foot, and is faſtened by a thong; but there is this difference in Turkey, that their ſandals are raiſed on two croſs pieces of wood, five or ſix inches high.

‡ Peſtemal, a piece of ſtuff made of ſilk or cotton, which is reſerved for modeſty in the baths.

carry

carry off their jewels, and think they can poſſeſs nothing too precious for the man who receives them. The fatal inclination which leads them aſtray, prevents them from perceiving, that it is to theſe very riches they owe their ruin.

The villains whom they go in ſearch of, ſeldom fail to puniſh their inconſiderate raſhneſs after a few days poſſeſſion, and to make ſure of their effects by the moſt monſtrous of all crimes; but which this government is the leaſt vigilant to puniſh. One often ſees the naked bodies of theſe unfortunate wretches floating in the harbour, under the windows of their murderers; yet theſe tremendous examples, ſo well calculated to intimidate the women and to calm this furor, neither frighten nor correct them.

It is to prevent the more frequent repetition of theſe diſorders, during the ſolemn feaſts and public rejoicings, that the government totally prohibits the appearance of women.

The pregnancy announced in the Seraglio, was now near its term of expiration; all the preparations for the entertainments were completed, and nothing was wanting but

but the order of the government to begin them.

It is only ſince my intimacy with the Turks, that I have learnt with any degree of certainty what paſſes on occaſion of births in the Seraglio, and I ſhall give the detail in this place, to avoid recurring to the ſubject.

On the firſt pains of labour, the Viſir, the Mufti, the great officers, and heads of the military, are ſent for to the Seraglio, to wait the moment of the delivery, in the Hall of the Sopha, for ſo they call the intermediate apartment * which ſeparates that part of the Seraglio called the harem, from the reſt of the buildings occupied by the Grand Signior and his houſhold.

Twelve pieces of cannon, four pounders, and which are called the cannon of the ſopha, are ranged along this chamber, which looks upon the ſea. There is alſo a battery of Swediſh cannon, ſituated in the Cypreſs Wood, which is very improperly called the garden of the Seraglio, half way between that and the walls of Byzantium, which

* This room in private houſes is called Mabin Odaſſi, the literal meaning of which is, the intermediate chamber.

form

form the incloſure of the Palace, and which are lined without with a monſtrous artillery, whoſe fire croſſes that of the battery of Tophana ſituated on the other ſide of the harbour.

As ſoon as the Sultana was delivered, the Kiſlar Aga came out of the Seraglio with the child, which was a Princeſs; he preſented it to the grand officers, who prepared the regiſter of its birth and ſex, after which the pieces of the ſopha gave their ſalute, which being heard only by the battery half way, was repeated from thence, and followed by thoſe from the point of the Seraglio, and from Tophana. To theſe different ſalutes, ſucceeded thoſe from the Cuſtom-houſe, from the Admiralty, and from Leander's Tower *. The public cryers immediately publiſhed

* This tower, ſituated on a detached rock, facing Conſtantinople, and nearer Scutary than the capital, is called, by the Turks, Kis-Couleſſy, the Girl's Tower. They pretend that it ſerved long as a priſon for a Greek princeſs.—The name the Europeans give it, makes one preſume that it was formerly looked upon as the dwelling of Hero, but we muſt be always very circumſpect in this ſort of conjectures, to avoid ridicule, and even abſurdity. Some travellers have placed a pillar of Pompey at the mouth of the Black Sea, where that

publiſhed this event, and the new-born Sultana was proclaimed *Eibe-Doullach*, given by God. Public rejoicings were ordered to continue ſeven days on the land, and three on the water, which was never practiſed heretofore, but on the birth of a Prince; but it was thought neceſſary to do that honour to the firſt born after two barren reigns. Theſe entertainments anſwered the purpoſe alſo of gaiety, of which there was much need; and though they were very expenſive, and a heavy burthen to the people, even the merchants conſoled themſelves for the neceſſity of ſhutting up their

that illuſtrious Roman never was; they have called another pillar one ſees at Alexandria by the ſame name, which certainly was never raiſed by Pompey. And to return to the environs of Conſtantinople:—There is an old tower on the borders of the Euxine Sea, which remains amongſt the ruins of ſeveral others of the ſame conſtruction, built in a line at equal diſtances, which ſerved in former times to give the alarm by ſignals on the appearance of Coſſack veſſels, whoſe piracies were very formidable to the inhabitants living on the Black Sea. This detached tower, in this region of romance and barbariſm, was without a name, and we Europeans, who have the rage of wiſhing to know and explain every thing, called it after the tower celebrated by Ovid.

ſhops

ſhops in ſeeing deſpotiſm equally ſuſpend its operations.

In fact, all the inſtruments of tyranny, who in general ſerve only to oppreſs humanity, appear to have no other occupation than to patronize licentiouſneſs in theſe times of public rejoicings. On theſe occaſions, the Saturnalia of ancient Rome are revived at Conſtantinople. The ſlaves have liberty to breathe, to make merry before their maſters, and even to be merry at their expence. New actors take poſſeſſion of the ſtage, the great are preſented with a picture of their own foibles, and, confounded with the people, are obliged, from cuſtom, to laugh at it themſelves, or at leaſt to aſſume that appearance.

As for the reſt, one may eaſily conceive that a government, which from its very nature ſeems to ſmother every ſentiment of joy, cannot compel it to appear, without retiring itſelf out of ſight, and that poor human nature, always eaſily impoſed on, always ready to adopt every flattering illuſion, no ſooner loſes ſight of her tyrants, than ſhe eagerly avails herſelf of a moment's relaxation to ſnatch a feeble and tranſient glimmering of happineſs.

The

The Greeks, above all, naturally gay and riotous, give themſelves up, on theſe occaſions, to all the intemperance of joy, making a quick tranſition from oppreſſion to happineſs, from humility to inſolence.

Let us here take a view of the ſcenery of this new theatre, and place the actors on the ſtage. Poſts, fixed at three or four feet diſtance, before the ſhops, and on the edges of the foot-way, on each ſide of the ſtreet, are joined together at the top by arches, which extend alſo to the houſes. This ſlight wooden roof, covered with branches of laurel, mixed with curled paper of different colours, forms the bowers, to which are ſuſpended tinſel leaves, which the leaſt wind puts in motion with a ruſtling noiſe, whilſt their glittering ſurface reflects the light of the glaſs lamps, and coloured lanthorns, with which the whole building is decorated. The gates of the houſes of individuals are likewiſe ornamented with an elegance proportioned to the importance and vanity of the proprietor; but the houſes of the great exhibit the higheſt exceſs of magnificence in their decorations. The ſtreets adjoining are covered to a certain diſtance in the form of bowers, of a ſufficient

cient heighth to prevent the lamps and tinſel work from ſtraightening the paſſage for perſons on horſeback; and theſe porticos, thus decorated, are continued even into the inner courts of their palaces, where halls, built expreſsly for the occaſion, richly furniſhed and lighted by a quantity of luſtres, whoſe light is reflected from an infinite number of glaſſes, offer to the curious a place of repoſe, in which the maſter of the houſe does the honours according to the quality of his gueſts. Others content themſelves with furniſhing the lower part of their gateway, and the two folding doors thrown open, invite the paſſenger to ſtop and take a diſh of coffee or other refreſhments ordered by the maſter, and with which his ſervants are always eager to ſupply.

The gate of the Viſir, and that of the Janiſſary Aga *, are above all remarkable for

* Pacha Capouſſi and Aga Capouſſi, the gate of the Pacha and the gate of the Aga, ſignify the houſe of the Viſir, and that of the General of the Janiſſaries. One of the common people, or even a perſon inferior to him of whom he ſpeaks, ſays, alſo I have been, or have ſerved at the gate of ſuch a one; but the term Capou, or Capi, Gate, pronounced ſingly, always means the Prime Miniſter's Palace, the place where all great affairs are diſcuſſed.

the

the ſumptuouſneſs of their decorations, and the profuſion of trinkets which are whimſically interſperſed with the richeſt ornaments. One cannot help beholding, with aſtoniſhment, the hall of the Divan, that dreadful tribunal, that terror of nature, dreſſed out and diſplayed, only for a few days, the image of gladneſs.

Twenty lanthorns, on which are painted ludicrous and often obſcene figures, mixed with tranſparencies, inſcribed with the name of God, of his attributes, the Grand Signior's cypher, or ſome play upon words. Pieces of looking-glaſs cut into the form of ſuns, to give a brilliancy to the illuminations, amuſe the multitude, whoſe numbers never diminiſh. Thoſe perſons, who, from their age and the importance of their ſtations are naturally the moſt ſerious *, are equally

* The deſire of obliging one of my Turkiſh friends had induced me to carry a toy which was rather pretty to his ſon; the child ſeemed very happy with me, and I entertained myſelf with the pleaſure I was about to give him, when at the ſight of the plaything, I perceived him ſhorten his ſtep, walk gravely into the room, look at my preſent with a marked indifference, ſit down in the moſt ſerious manner, and wrap himſelf up in his little haughtineſs. Soon after comes in

equally delighted with theſe trivial and puerile imitations. I have ſeen a little palace, of glaſs clipping and iſin-glaſs, made by an European, ſold for three thouſand livres, about one hundred and twenty guineas, to the Viſir, to make a figure in his temporal ſhop.

So much profuſion at the houſes of the Miniſters and of the great men, would lead one naturally to imagine, that on ſuch an occaſion the illumination of the Seraglio would greatly ſurpaſs all the others.

A ſtring of lamps decorates the firſt gate, and ſome coloured lanthorns light ſuch paſſengers as curioſity leads towards that which ſeparates the two courts. This gate, as well as the firſt entrance, is very ſcantily lighted; ſufficiently, however, to enable one to diſtinguiſh ſome old colours, great hatchets and ſhields, ſome piles of arms, and fiſh

in the grandfather, and by a moſt ſingular contraſt, the old man launches out on the neatneſs of the workmanſhip, ſits down on the carpet to admire it, turns it over, examines it minutely, plays with it, and finiſhes by breaking it. This ſcene at firſt appeared ſtrange to me, but a more thorough knowledge of Turkey, has ſince taught me every thing in that country worthy of obſervation, either in point of ſingularity or inſtruction.

bones,

bones, which pass for those of giants, and other objects of as great importance *. But the gate of the Armory, which is on the left on entering this court, presents many very curious articles of ancient armory †. The Mint, more agreeably decorated, exhibits a very different picture. An infinite number of lamps, from a tapestry of new piastres ‡, isolettes §, paras ‖, and sequins ¶, are arranged in various forms. This is also the only place in the Seraglio where the curious

* In the first rejoicing, an old bishop's mitre, amongst other trophies, was suspended to the key-stone of the roof.

† The most remarkable article in this depository is a Catapulta, which is the only one existing; but the Turks make so little account of it, that it was only by chance in searching the magazine, that I discovered this precious morsel of antiquity, buried under a heap of rubbish. This magazine of arms was formerly a Greek church.

‡ Money equal to half a crown.

§ About a shilling and ten-pence halfpenny, or thirty paras.

‖ A small piece of silver, of a farthing value.

¶ A piece of gold of more or less value, and the most generally known called Zeremapouls, are at present worth seven shillings and sixpence English, allowing always for the difference of 20 per cent. on the Grand Signior's money, by the exchange with Europe.

are

are even tolerably received by the Zarphana Eminy ‡. If every thing in the city announces that deſpotiſm has left an open field for the greateſt exceſſes of a fanatic joy, the truly mournful aſpect of the firſt court of the Seraglio, makes us feel that the interior of theſe formidable walls is ſtill that impenetrable aſylum, where deſpotiſm, in a liſtleſs anxiety, awaits the hour to put an end to the intoxication of a momentary liberty, which animates every individual.

In fact, this exceſſive gaiety of the people can only be looked upon as a fit of phrenzy, which might alarm the deſpot, if he permitted it to laſt. I have already ſaid that the Greeks diſtinguiſh themſelves in a peculiar manner by their inſolent and unbounded joy. The Jews, on the contrary, always occupied by commerce, always tormented by the thirſt of gain, after profiting as much as poſſible by the fabrication and ſale of lanthorns, make a trade of their buffooneries before the houſes of the great, where *paras* are diſtributed to every Merry-Andrew who preſents himſelf.

‡ Inſpector of the Mint.

Many

Many perſons in office have ſtationary comedies before their houſes, on various ſubjects, but always of the moſt indecent kind, which are performed to the great ſatisfaction of the public; and in theſe pieces the government itſelf is as little reſpected as manners. One ſees every moment companies of Greeks and Jews repreſenting the different officers of the empire, and exerciſing their reſpective functions to turn them into ridicule. In one of theſe entertainments, at which I was preſent, the dreſs of the Grand Signior himſelf, and of all his retinue, were treated with the ſame diſreſpect. A company of Jews had the preſumption to mimic him; it is true, that this inſolent imitation was ſoon put a ſtop to, but they ſtill continued to counterfeit the Grand Viſir, and, of courſe, no other officer was ſpared.

I ſaw, amongſt others, a fictitious Stambol Effendiſſy ‡ who was permitted very quietly to exerciſe pretty ſevere diſtributive juſtice. Chance threw him in the way of the real one; they very gravely exchanged a ſalute, and proceeded on their

‡ Lieutenant of Police of Conſtantinople.

way.

way. Another troop, who had counterfeited the Janiſſary Aga, went and took poſſeſſion of this General's houſe, whilſt he was taking his rounds, and his ſervants treated the maſque with as much diſtinction as if he had been their maſter. Theſe pleaſantries were followed by other ſtrokes of wit not quite ſo agreeable, but which had the ſame licence. Pretended directors of bridges and cauſeways, followed by paviours, took up the ſtones before the doors of ſeveral individuals, who were obliged to buy themſelves off at a conſiderable price. Other maſques, in the dreſs of fire-men, obtained ranſoms in a different manner. In a word, all ſorts of extortion were practiſed; and to perfect the illuſion, they were acted to the life. All this, however, became at length burthenſome and inconvenient; but the ſtated time expired, the cudgel again appeared, and order was reſumed †.

† The Beſiſtins preſent in the Donanemes the richeſt coup-dœiul; that of the jewellers is particularly brilliant in precious ſtones, which the merchants expoſe there, and theſe covered markets are really moſt curious and moſt truly magnificent objects. The Tcharchis, other markets, where all ſorts of drugs are

Deſpotiſm was conſtrained, notwithſtanding, ſtill to reſpect liberty during the three evenings deſtined for the fire-works on the ſea.

The Marine corps, the corps of Dgebedgis ‡, and of the artillery, had each of them prepared an entertainment of fire-works for three ſucceeding nights.

Some large rafts towed into the middle of the harbour, oppoſite to Yaly Kioſk §, where the Grand Signior was to be, were diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as to exhibit the conſolatory ſpectacle of the taking of Malta, or of ſome engagement in which the Mahometans infallibly get the better of the Chriſtians. A great number of petards, ſo much ſmoke, and ſo little fire, that in the cleareſt intervals one could

are collected, appear to me alſo to be tolerably well decorated.

‡ Dgebedgis; there is no reſemblance between this and any of our corps. Their duty is to take care of the arms, powder, and all ſuch implements of war as are kept in magazines.

§ The Kioſk of the Admiralty; it is ſituated without the Seraglio, on the ſea ſhore, and is made uſe of for all the ceremonies relative to the fleet, as well as for the embarkation and diſembarkation of the Grand Signior.

ſcarcely

ſcarcely diſcover the walls of the paſte-board caſtle that was attacked, give no very high idea of the talents of the fire-workers; neither is their ſucceſs very brilliant in the art of firing ſky-rockets. The greateſt part of theſe rockets, after having languiſhed on the ſcaffolding, are extinguiſhed in the ſea before the caſe has time to take fire.

The gerb-rockets, lighter and better proportioned, riſe a little higher; but in general they light very ſlowly, from the aukward diſpoſition of their matches, and go off in very irregular directions: it muſt be owned, however, that even theſe defects give an air of profuſion and duration to the Turkiſh flower-pots, which makes them very pleaſing. The general applauſe does not take place until the moment when unfortunate Greeks or Jews, hired to wear European dreſſes, and to defend the place attacked with a few ſerpents, which are ſoon expended, are aſſaulted, overturned, and on account of their dreſs, are beaten with the fiſt, according to the rights of war, and which, in their character of infidels, they are permitted to return.

The pleaſure of knocking down and beating the Chriſtians is ſo high a regale for the Turks, that Sultan Mahamout's favourites, in other reſpects very amiable, could contrive nothing better for their maſter's amuſement, at an entertainment they gave him in the Seraglio, and the ſubject appeared to them ſo ſimple, and ſo natural, that they made no ſcruple of requeſting the European Ambaſſadors to lend them their wardrobes. They put theſe cloaths on the backs of Jews, always deſtined to be beaten, and always ready to take a beating when they are paid for it. All the Grand Signior's courtiers agreed that thoſe fellows had never earned their money better than on that day.

The Jews might certainly do as they thought proper; but was it neceſſary to lend theſe cloaths? and ought not our Europeans to have felt the diſagreeable conſequences which always follow from allowing themſelves to be thus turned into ridicule?

Theſe rejoicings were ſcarcely finiſhed, before a freſh pregnancy was announced, which produced Sultan Selim; and the Princeſs Eibé-Doullach, the firſt child, was

was married at ſix months old, to a Pacha eſtabliſhed in his government, whom it was more their intention to plunder than to favour, and who felt very forcibly the neceſſity of making an annual remittance of one hundred thouſand piaſtres, for the maintenance of his young wife, as well as for the honour of ſo deſirable an alliance.

Milek Pacha experienced alſo a diſagreeable circumſtance of the ſame kind, which muſt ſtill more ſenſibly have hurt him.—Young, amiable, and arrived at the office of Captain Pacha §, he enjoyed quietly within himſelf the pleaſure of having only one wife, who occupied all his attention, and who loved him tenderly. The goodneſs of his maſter had juſt raiſed him to the dignity of Viſir ‖, and nothing was wanting

§ A Captain Pacha; at ſea this dignity is equivalent to that of Admiral; but it cannot be compared with it when the fleet is laid up. That place only gives the rank of Pacha with two tails. It is ſometimes held, however, by Viſirs of the Bench; that is to ſay, by ſuch Pachas as, from their rank, wear the ſame bonnet as the Grand Viſir, and have a ſeat at the Grand Signior's Divan during their ſtay at Conſtantinople.

‖ All the Pachas of three tails are called Viſirs.—This dignity, therefore, muſt not be confounded with that

wanting to complete his happineſs, when a ſiſter of the Grand Signior, a widow for the ſixth time, ſaw him paſs at a public ceremony. Struck with Melek's handſome face, the old Sultana demanded him of her brother, who immediately ſignified to the Admiral that he intended honouring him with his alliance. This came upon him like a clap of thunder; but there was no remedy, and Melek was obliged inſtantly to part with his wife, who ſurvived this misfortune only a few days; but the Pacha, more reſolute, or leſs ſenſible, reſigned himſelf to circumſtances. He continued to pleaſe; nay, he was even ſuch a favourite, as to induce the Grand Viſir to rid himſelf of ſo dangerous a rival, by obtaining for him a government, which freed him alſo from the careſſes of his antiquated Princeſs ‡.

Sultan

that of Grand Viſir. This laſt is diſtinguiſhed by the great ſeal of the empire; the Grand Signior's ſignet. He poſſeſſes the chief inſtrument of deſpotiſm. On this account he is called Vizir Azem, or the Grand Viſir.

‡ We have already ſeen that the Sultanas cannot go out of Conſtantinople. Deſpotiſm fears, no doubt, that in letting them remove to a diſtance with their huſbands

Sultan Muſtapha continued to employ himſelf in his finances, by aſſiduouſly ſtripping the accomptants, and by applying to his own uſe, in confiſcations, what theſe knaves had been ſtealing in the empire. Already did his Highneſs enjoy the ſatisfaction of having completed ſeveral *haſnés* ‡, and ſealed them up; but this was a very inſignificant gratification of his ruling paſſion; he was determined to attempt the fortune of the Pacha of Bagdad. The independant conduct of that Governor, held out, in fact, more than one pretext for the deſire of deſpoiling him; but it was much

huſbands the male infant which might be born would eſcape the blow.

‡ Haſne ſignifies treaſure, and is made uſe of for the whole of the Sovereign's treaſure. But it is alſo uſed as an expreſſion of number, and in that caſe means 10,000 purſes, which, with the difference of exchange, is equal to about fifteen millions of French livres, or about 875,000l. ſterling; and the ſeal is put on the coffers when this ſum is completed, as it is uſual in France to ſeal a bag containing 1200 livres. Muſtapha took ſuch pleaſure in this occupation, that he ſacrificed every thing to increaſe his treaſure: he ſold a great many of his trinkets by auction, and even ſent to the Mint all the gold and ſilver veſſels given him by the Court of Denmark on the concluſion of their treaty with the Porte.

eaſier

eaſier to pronounce the order than to carry it into execution. Wealth and diſtance are very efficacious weapons of defence.

Muſtapha flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to effect, by ſurprize, what he could not hope to accompliſh by threats. A Capidgi Bachi §, apparently the bearer of a mark of friendſhip, but actually provided with an order, addreſſed to the Judges of the Divan of Bagdad, to ſtrike off the Pacha's head, waited on him. The Governor on his ſide, attentive to all the emiſſaries of Conſtantinople, and knowing the ſucceſſors of the Greek empire well

§ Capidges Bachis, a ſort of Chamberlains who take under the arm every body who is admitted to the Grand Signior's audience, and conduct them to his Highneſs. They are likewiſe employed in all the extraordinary commiſſions which have for their object the execution of the Sultan's orders of every kind. To collect proviſions, to raiſe troops, to confirm a Pacha, to extort money from him, to cut off his head, or after they deſpoil him of his wealth, to conduct another into baniſhment, very often to poiſon him by the way; all this is in the Capidgi Bachi's province; theſe are perquiſites of his office. The Salachors, (uſhers) are employed in the ſame duty in caſes of inferior reſort, and their advancement depends on their making uſe of more or leſs addreſs in the execution of their orders.

enough

enough to fear them and their preſents *, made the Capidgi be ſearched before he was introduced into the Divan; and finding the ſecret order, commanded the bearer's head to be cut off, and ſent it as his only anſwer to the Grand Signior. Similar attempts were attended with the ſame ſucceſs, and theſe examples, imitated by other Pachas not ſo rich nor ſo remote as that of Bagdad, encouraged reſiſtance, and reduced the Porte to the laſt reſource, of aſſaſſinating or poiſoning ſuch of its officers as it was diſpoſed to puniſh. In this caſe the emiſſary, diſguiſed as much as poſſible, and furniſhed with an order which he keeps cloſely hid, endeavours to approach the proſcribed perſon; chooſes, if he can, the time of the aſſembling of the Divan, ſeizes the favourable moment of killing his man, preſents his order, and runs no further riſk if he is ſkilful enough not to miſs his ſtroke. This is what may be called ſignal juſtice; but poiſon requires leſs courage, and on that account begins to have the preference.

* Timeunt Danaos et dona ferentes.

Such of the Pachas, or other oppreſſors, as by a cuſtomary retribution of a part of their rapine, know how to ſatiate the rapaciouſneſs of the ſublime Porte, enjoy the portion they reſerve in a ſort of ſecurity; but they can preſerve their fortunes after their death only by intruſting it to the perſon who manages their affairs, or to ſome friend on whoſe probity they think they can rely. Theſe confidential truſts, however, expoſe their poſſeſſors to very terrible dangers; and the fear of loſing their lives, or at leaſt their own fortunes, often tempts to infidelity. To theſe motives may perhaps be added, the ſo natural temptation of appropriating to themſelves the effects of the deceaſed, in a country where the words honour and honeſty are ſcarcely known.

One may form a correct judgment of the proceedings of the Turkiſh government reſpecting ſucceſſions, from the manner in which the Exchequer ſettled its accounts with the perſons employed by Rachub Pacha, who had long ſince married a ſiſter of the Grand Signior.

That Viſir, celebrated for his activity of mind, the atrociouſneſs of his character, and

and the ſubtlety of his ſpirit, died in office, and in poſſeſſion of a degree of favour, which left no reaſonable cauſe of uneaſineſs to thoſe who tranſacted his affairs; but his fortune rendered them accountable, and the exaggerated calculations of Sultan Muſtapha might prove them defaulters. The ſeal, however, was put in his Highneſs's name, who reſerved to himſelf the inquiry into the ſucceſſion.

A Turk, who had filled the office of Treaſurer to the late Grand Viſir, was arreſted the inſtant the ſeal was placed, as well as an Armenian, who had always been that Miniſter's bank; theſe two unfortunate men, chained in the priſons of the Seraglio, ſuffered every moment the terror of that death with which it pleaſed their keepers to inſpire them. They were obliged to pay for their food its weight in gold; and the ſmalleſt accommodations, the moſt trifling comforts were ſold to them at the moſt exorbitant prices. At length they gave in their accounts, and the examination which the Grand Signior took the pains to make himſelf, only ſerved to evince their innocence; but rapaciouſneſs, deceived by this inquiry, had recourſe

courſe to tortures to obtain the avowal of a ſuppoſed ſecret truſt which never had exiſted.

The Boſtandgy Bachi was charged with this horrible perſecution; the moſt ſcandalous calumnies of informers were liſtened to; enormous ſums were ſuppoſed to have paſſed ſecretly through their hands, and the moſt cruel torture was employed, in vain, as to the diſcovery of any thing, but with great effect for the avarice of the Prince, who ſwallowed up the greateſt part of the riches which the Armenian derived from his father's commerce. The Treaſurer underwent the ſame fate, and was compelled to purchaſe his life at the price of his whole fortune, after having ſuffered the moſt dreadful torments.

Such is the juſtice exerciſed by the deſpot, *legally* no doubt, ſince there is no law to counteract theſe barbarities, and the habit of ſubmitting to them ſtifles even complaint.

Here let us examine the kind of juſtice adminiſtered by the Turkiſh tribunals, from a written code, reſpected by opinion, and commented on by magiſtrates appointed for that purpoſe. And you, who juſtly offended

offended at the inconveniences and multiplicity of our judiciary forms, have ventured to aſſert, certainly without reflection, that Turkiſh juſtice was preferable to ours, examine attentively the picture I am about to offer to you; and if you are able, try to point out ſome remedy for that ſuperfluity which is ſo injurious to us; correct our intemperance, but never make a boaſt to us of poverty.

The Grand Signior is at once the ſucceſſor to the Caliphate, and the chief of the military government; his deſpotiſm is founded on the Coran, and the expoſition of that book is excluſively allotted to the body of Ulemats; every thing muſt bend before that law; every thing muſt be obedient to the Sovereign. Theſe two powers derive from the ſame ſource, and one already perceives the claſhing and differences which muſt ariſe between two powers poſſeſſed of equal right, but whoſe intereſts are at war; one ſees, alſo, that the power of mutually injuring each other muſt frequently unite, and compel them to reciprocal attentions and compliance.

If the Ulemats, in fact, can interpret the law at their pleaſure, and animate the people

ple againſt the Sovereign, he can, with one word, depoſe the Mufti, ſend him into exile, and even deſtroy him, as well as all thoſe of his body who may incur his diſpleaſure. The law and the deſpot ought equally to fear and reſpect each other; but the deſpot, if he be not an ideot, neceſſarily inclines the balance; he diſpoſes of all the treaſure, of all the employments, and of the lives of all his ſubjects. He has terrible means of enforcing obedience.

Now let us inquire into the uſe of power, whether on the part of the Grand Signior, or of the Judges.

The more extenſive the power of the Grand Signior, the more difficult is it to limit the power of thoſe officers who repreſent him. The Pachas throughout the whole extent of the Ottoman empire, are the governors and the renters of their Pacholicks; they appoint ſub-governors and under-renters in every diſtrict; theſe again diſtribute other under-renters, to the full as tyrannical; ſo that in this cruel hierarchy, each ſubaltern receives the double of the ſum for which he ſtands accountable.

If the renter can exerciſe his right over the annual revenue in ſo deſtructive a manner,

ner, the governor of each province, armed with a more extenſive and more formidable power, demoliſhes with more unlicenſed boldneſs and facility. It reſts with him to multiply the perſecutions, the extortions, and depredations, which are bounded only by his rapacious deſires. The ſlighteſt pretext is ſufficient to ſummon to his tribunal, ſuch as he is pleaſed to call to account; and the rich, at the feet of the inſatiable man, is never innocent.

The Sovereign, however, apparently a ſilent ſpectator of theſe tranſactions, delays the puniſhment of the oppreſſor only until the produce of the oppreſſion be ſufficient to merit a place in his private treaſury; but although the Grand Signior ſeems only to watch the man in office, in vain would the rich man attempt to eſcape from deſpotiſm by concealing himſelf in obſcurity; he is very ſoon inveſted with an employment, which, ſooner or later, furniſhes the Prince with the right of calling him to account. This man has no other reſource, therefore, than by making others account to him in the ſame manner, and by converting the fruit of his rapine into ready money, the more eaſily to conceal it. We have

have already ſeen that the men of the law are the only perſons who can enjoy their fortune in tranquillity, and I ſhall not ſpeak of the Chriſtian ſubjects, or the Jews. Theſe, deſpiſed and inſulted even by the Muſſulman porter who ſerves them, are only reſpected by the government becauſe their induſtry accumulates thoſe riches of which daily oppreſſion produce a reflux through the channel of men in place, into that gulph where every thing is ſwallowed up by the Sovereign.

From the accounts of Europeans one may be led to believe, that the Turkiſh Cuſtom-houſe is not ſo rigorous as that of other nations. The Franks, it is true, pay only three per cent. I will not bring to account the extortions they ſuffer beſides of every kind; they are foreigners; their ſituation has no connection with the inquiry into the manners and government of the native inhabitants. Theſe latter pay ſeven per cent. Cuſtom-houſe duty, and ten on many articles of conſumption; by an affected clemency alſo, of which they make a great boaſt, this duty is allowed to be paid in kind; but what is the conſequence? That on a hundred turbots which a fiſherman brings

brings to market, they take ten of the fineſt, which alone are worth all the little fry they leave him.

Let us now conſult their books of law, and ſee how they contrive to interpret them in their tribunals.

Every judgment ought to be founded on the depoſition of witneſſes. This is the firſt law of the Arabian legiſlator. The plaintiff and the defendant, therefore, cannot appear in court without being provided alike with witneſſes; there is no trial therefore without falſe witneſſes. The art of the Judge conſiſts in diſcovering, by inſidious interrogation, to which of the parties he ought to aſſign the preference of allegation; and this primary judgment decides the proceſs. If one party denies, the other is intitled to prove; ſo that, brought into a lawſuit by a man whom I have never ſeen, for the payment of a ſum I never owed, I ſhall be obliged to pay him on the teſtimony of two Turkiſh witneſſes who will ſwear to the debt.—What means of defence are left me? Only to admit that I owed the money, or to inſiſt that I have paid it. If the Cady be not already bought off, he will adjudge me witneſſes, whom I ſhall very ſoon find, and

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it will coſt me only a trifle for the perſons who will perjure themſelves for me, and the duty of ten per cent. to the Judge who will give me my cauſe.

He who gains, always pays the expences; the apprehenſion, therefore, of loſing the money one has, does not check the deſire of poſſeſſing oneſelf of that of others; and the puniſhment preſcribed for the ſuborners of falſe witneſſes, and for falſe witneſſes themſelves *, muſt ſeldom be inflicted: the Judge whoſe revenue they increaſe, owes them ſome indulgence.

A Turk wanted to rob his neighbour of a field of which he was the legal poſſeſſor. This Turk begins by making himſelf ſure of a ſufficient number of witneſſes ready to ſwear that the field had been ſold to him by the proprietor; he then applied to the Judge, and gave him 500 piaſters to get him to authorize his uſurpation. This ſtep, which proved ſufficiently the iniquity of his demand, incenſed the Cady; he diſſembled, however, heard both parties, and finding

* The puniſhment of perjury is to lead them through the ſtreets on an aſs, with the culprit's head towards the tail of the animal; but I never ſaw that law carried into execution.

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that the lawful poſſeſſor would oppoſe only the ineffectual defence of his title of poſſeſſion ;—" You have no witneſſes then ?" ſaid he to him ; " Well, well ! I have *five hundred* who depoſe in your favour !" He then produced the bag, which was the intended price of his corruption, and ſent off the corruptor.

This inſtance, which does honour to the integrity of the Judge, does not undoubtedly do much honour to the law itſelf. That is always the ſame, and every Cady does not reſemble this.

In complicated cauſes, beſides witneſſes, the parties have the precaution to obtain a fetfa of the Mufti ; but theſe, as I have already obſerved, being given only by the head of the law from the ſtate of the caſe laid before him, each party obtains a favourable one without any difficulty.

The affair, however, is not terminated by a formal judgment pronounced in your favour. The only certainty is the expences : if the adverſary ſtarts a new incident, the proceſs muſt be renewed, and freſh expences incurred.

The right given by the Turkiſh civil law to every individual of pleading his own cauſe,

cauſe, would be undoubtedly a moſt ineſtimable privilege; but what advantage can he derive from it in a country where the deciſion is arbitrary? Hence it is that the Jews, the Armenians, and the Greeks, have preſerved to their chiefs a ſort of civil juriſdiction, to which they ſometimes ſubmit, to prevent the object of the law ſuit from being conſumed by the Cady who is to judge it; but excepting the Jews, who are more ſubordinate to their Kakam than the Chriſtians to their Patriarch, it is common enough for the party aggrieved to ſummon the other to the Turkiſh Courts, which finiſh the matter by enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of both.

The law reſpecting ſlaves, ſubmits them entirely to their purchaſer, calls upon him to treat them well, or to ſell them if they do not pleaſe him; and their teſtimony is inadmiſſible either for or againſt their maſters.

A Greek, of the name of Draco, extremely rich, had two handſome country-houſes near the village of Terapia, on the channel of the Black Sea, at three leagues diſtance from Conſtantinople, where he paſſed the ſummer with his whole family, and ſeveral Chriſtian

Chriſtian ſlaves who waited on him. In his neighbourhood was a dock-yard: one of the Turkiſh ſhip-builders availed himſelf of the opportunity to intrigue with one of the Chriſtian ſlaves.—Draco ſurprized, and ill-treated her; and to revenge herſelf, ſhe ſet fire to two houſes, which were totally conſumed. After this act of wickedneſs, ſhe had the daringneſs to boaſt of it; and Draco, juſtly dreading the further effects of this wicked wretch's fury, had her carried off by night, and conducted to a Jew's houſe, with orders to ſhut her cloſely up, and to ſell her as ſoon as poſſible, ſo as that ſhe never might return. She found means, however, to cry out of the window that ſhe was a Turk. The populace aſſemble, the guard arrives, the Jew's houſe is forced open, and the girl is led before the Viſir; there ſhe again declares herſelf to be a Turk, detained by Draco as a ſlave, and ill-treated by him to compel her to become a Chriſtian; and that ſhe had ſet fire to his houſes to ſave a female Muſſulman. Her zeal was highly extolled, thanks were returned to Providence, and Draco was hanged two days after the fire, before his own houſes, ſtill ſmoking from the conflagration.

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It will be aſked, no doubt, what was become of the law which refuſes to admit the teſtimony of ſlaves againſt their maſters, that which condemns an incendiary to the flames, and the other which allows the accuſed to plead his own cauſe? Nothing of all this was thought of: a Chriſtian does not merit ſuch attention in Turkey.

After having ſeen the innocent periſh, let us now ſee in what manner the law treats the guilty. It is not to be repeated without horror; but it is for theſe monſters that the law has ſome reſpect. The law which condemns a murderer to death, permits the neareſt relation of the deceaſed to grant his pardon. The criminal is conducted to the place where the crime was committed; the perſon who does the office of executioner, performs alſo that of mediator! he negociates even to the laſt moment with the neareſt of kin to the deceaſed, or with his wife, who uſually follows, and aſſiſts at the execution. Should the propoſals be refuſed, the executioner does his duty; if they are accepted, he leads back the criminal to the tribunal, to receive his diſcharge. Theſe compoſitions, however, ſeldom take place, from a ſort of opprobrium attached to the idea of ſelling the blood of one's relations,

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or one's husband; but we must be sensible that if such a law existed amongst us, we should sometimes see the most cowardly and most execrable assassins enjoy in peace the fruit of their enormities.

A young Turk, anxious to inherit his property, had murdered his father, and was condemned, on the strongest evidence, to lose his head. One of his friends, a companion of his debaucheries, flies to the Judge with a considerable sum of money; there he learns that the sentence is already pronounced: still he is not discouraged; he presses the Judge, already gained by the sight of the money:—"I cannot," said he to his client, "acquit your friend, without a proof of his innocence stronger than that on which he was convicted.—Have the courage to declare yourself the murderer of his father; produce two witnesses to prove it; I shall condemn you to the same punishment which has been pronounced against your friend; from that moment he will be restored to all his rights, and it will rest with him to grant your pardon." The undertaking was undoubtedly hazardous: a parricide is not calculated to inspire much confidence. The criminal, however, pardoned the supposed

poſed murderer; and this atrocious tranſaction, ſanctified by the law, had the moſt complete ſucceſs.

To puniſh even highway robbers, it is neceſſary to apprehend them in the fact. The legiſlator of the Arabs owed this indulgence, no doubt, to a nation which exiſted only by rapine. The Grand Signior's territories are infeſted therefore with thoſe robbers, who are called *haidouts*, where they commit the greateſt horrors; and the few efforts made by the government to check them, and which are always made in the moſt aukward manner, only ſerves to diſperſe and drive them from the capital.

If they commit ſome murders in a village, the Cady, who repairs to the place, extorts a ſum of money from the inhabitants, without taking the trouble of ſearching after the offenders. On this account the firſt care of the inhabitants is always to keep the crime from the knowledge of the Judges, whoſe preſence is more formidable than that of the robbers.

The latter are in Turkey like unprivileged workmen in our towns. They are puniſhed if caught at work; they quit their trade on becoming rich, talk over their exploits,

ploits, and arrive at employments which give them the right of exercising their industry.

The tenet of the Coran enjoining submission to the decrees of Providence, does not appear very well adapted to a criminal code. A Turk, however, having killed a Christian, by a violent blow of a stick on his skull, the Judge, after making them produce the murderer's weapon, and well, and duly examined the quality of the wood of which it was made, pronounced that it was too light to have produced the Christian's death without the direct will of Providence, which it did not become human beings to oppose. It would not be very easy to turn to that chapter of the Coran from whence this sentence was extracted; but it appears indubitable, that if the Christian had committed the murder in question on the Turk, the Judge would never have imagined that he was executing the decrees of God.

Besides the law-suits which follow the usual judicial forms of informations, verification of titles, and appeals to the superior courts, all private quarrels, and charges in the first heat of passion, immediately referred

red to the tribunal, on the requiſition of one party, which the other muſt not heſitate to accept, particularly if the quarrel has taken place before the people. At the ſole word, juſtice, one ſees the multitude invariably taking a part againſt him who avoids it: the name of juſtice is ſacred in all nations. It is the central point of the human mind. One may form erroneous notions of it, one may labour to deceive others, and may even impoſe upon oneſelf reſpecting it; ſtill juſtice reigns imperceptibly, and vice, as well as virtue, is conſtrained to do her homage.

Each quarter has its Mekkemé *, where a Cady, attended by his Naib †, ſits every hour of the day, to hear complaints, and to diſtribute juſtice with the more expedition, as the expences are always paid after the ſentence.

The juſtice exerciſed by the Stambol Effendiſſy § reſpecting every thing which concerns the ſupply of the capital, appears more

* Mekkeme; a tribunal of juſtice.

† Naib; the Judge's firſt clerk.

§ Stambol Effendiſſy, the Lieutenant of Police of Conſtantinople; it is the firſt ſtep by which the men of the law aſpire to the great offices, which, as well as this, are all in the Grand Signior's nomination, without regard to ſeniority of rank.

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disinterested, but has only a more noble and more majestic appearance. He fixes the price of articles, causes it to be published, and examines into the integrity of the weights and measures, either personally, or by a deputy, called Murtasib. Preceded by four Janissaries in their formalities, and with staves in their hands, this officer goes through the city on horseback, one of his people carrying by his side a pair of open scales; another carrying weights; a third a hammer; and the rest of the cavalcade are armed with sticks, and other weapons necessary to punish offenders.

This groupe is always preceded by some persons in disguise, who take a loaf secretly from a shop, or the weights and scales of a dealer in fruit, or other articles, and every thing which may convict the delinquents of a fraud.

The bread carried to the magistrate is placed in the scale opposite to its just weight, whilst the baker, already seized, and in the presence of his Judge, awaits the decree which is to pronounce him innocent, to order him the bastinado, or even to inflict a little severer punishment upon him, such as having his ears nailed to his shop;

or, in ſhort, hanging him, if the Judge happens to be out of humour. But it is ſtill more remarkable that the real baker, the proprietor of the oven, the fellow whoſe knavery is puniſhed, has nothing to do in the affair; he enjoys quietly at his houſe the daily produce of the falſe weights which are condemned, and leaves one of his journeymen, the chief manager of his oven, to all the danger, and all the inconveniences of his malverſation. The latter, for double wages, undertakes to perſonate his maſter, and this advantageous ſituation is ſolicited by the ſecond journeyman after the firſt is hanged: nobody is diſcouraged. It muſt however be owned, that theſe puniſhments are by no means ſo frequent, as they are frequently merited.

The compoſition paid by the maſter bakers to the Stambol Effendiſſy is conſiderable; and if this magiſtrate is obliged to prevent great abuſes, and palpable frauds, he has a very material intereſt likewiſe in overlooking many impoſitions in this trade, to obtain the tribute which they pay him; but he has no regard whatever for the ſmall dealers, who go about the ſtreets; their weights and ſcales are ſeized and broken in pieces

pieces with a hammer for the ſlighteſt deficiency, and this ceremony is uſually terminated by the baſtinado, unleſs theſe unfortunate people know how to extricate themſelves after the Turkiſh manner!—The moſt dexterous accommodate the matter, even before it comes within the cognizance of the Judge, and buy themſelves off at a cheaper rate from the guards in diſguiſe, by whom they have been apprehended, and who in their turn, convert their little employment too to profit.

Beſides theſe precautions for aſcertaining fairneſs in the ſale of proviſions, the government fixes their price; but one pays, notwithſtanding, the full value for every thing. Under deſpotiſm the multitude is daily duped. The people do not expect a comfortable living; they are not accuſtomed to that ſtate, but they are ſometimes ſeized with fits of grief and deſpair. On theſe occaſions they aſſume the tone and character of their ſuperiors; they will be obeyed, and imagine they are ſo, when, to remedy the complaints extorted from them by the dearneſs of living, the Viſir orders proviſions to be ſold at a lower price, and that going out *incognito* during the publica-

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tion of this law, the Miniſter makes them hang up a baker's boy; nobody inquires into the juſtice of the pretext, the miſerable wretch is ſacrificed; but every body finds the bread a great deal better.

How can ſo ſovereign a contempt for human nature amongſt the Turks conſiſt with that whimſical beneficence they diſplay towards certain animals the moſt uſeleſs to ſociety? Barbarity itſelf, no doubt, ſtands in need of ſome relaxation; whilſt it cruſhes mankind under the weight of its iron ſceptre, it condeſcends to ſmile on objects whoſe inſignificance give no occaſion for alarm; and the pride of the deſpot blending all beings together in one common contempt, ſelects its favourites from amongſt the weakeſt.

It is doubtleſs on this principle that the government, whilſt it exerciſes the moſt rigorous monopoly of corn for the conſumption of the capital, by an extraction ruinous to the huſbandman, and a diſtribution leſs burthenſome to the baker than to the conſumer, grants ſo much per cent. in favour of the turtle doves. A cloud of theſe birds continually fall upon the loaded boats which traverſe the harbour of Conſtantinople,

ſtantinople, and carry the corn, uncovered, either to the ſtore-houſes, or the mills, without the boatmen attempting to put a ſtop to their voraciouſneſs. The eaſe with which they are permitted to glean the corn, attracts them in ſuch flocks, that I have ſeen them perched on the rowers ſhoulders, waiting in their turns for a vacant place to fill their crops.

It is from very ſhallow obſervations alſo that travellers have extolled the charity of the Turks towards other animals.

There is in Conſtantinople a great number of dogs of the ſame kind as the ſhepherd's dog, that is to ſay, with fox's ears and muzzles. Theſe animals, diſperſed through every quarter of the town, ſeem to have the ſame origin; but they belong to no particular maſters, and the dogs of each diſtrict make a common cauſe againſt ſuch marauders as encroach upon their limits. It is eaſy, from their haggard looks, their feeble and languid ſteps, as well as their exceſſive lankneſs, to diſtinguiſh ſuch of them as not having been born in the quarter of the ſhambles, are reduced to live on the excrement thrown into the ſtreets, and for which they are fortunately indebted

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to the bad adminiſtration of the police. The prodigality of the children, whom they are very aſſiduous in careſſing, procures them alſo ſome reſource. The females of this needy claſs, ſometimes obtain the end of a mat, between two poſts, to ſuckle their young on; but notwithſtanding theſe trifling ſuccours, all thoſe at a diſtance from the town ſhambles, do very little honour to the Turkiſh charity. Always miſerable, always more or leſs conſumptive, and often lame, they ſeem to offer a ſtanding reproach to thoſe travellers who have celebrated the charms and comforts of their exiſtence *.

Travellers have likewiſe celebrated as a good work the Turkiſh cuſtom of feeding their cats with ſheeps livers, ſaid to be diſtributed to thoſe animals by pious perſons, who devote themſelves to this holy action. This would not, in fact, be either more fooliſh, or more ſingular, than the ſtory of the doves; but one fact does not prove the other, and every thing connected with man-

* In this deſcription we ſee nothing like that race of dogs we call Turkiſh dogs, which are no more known in Turkey than our Turkiſh beds, Turkiſh robes, and the reſt of thoſe novelties on which we are pleaſed to beſtow that name.

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ners, merits a circumſtantial and well digeſted diſcuſſion.

The Turks, as well as the Jews, have their prohibited food; their law obliges them to bleed and waſh what they eat; it prohibits them alſo the uſe of certain parts of the animal, ſuch as the liver, the lungs, &c. The butchers muſt provide, therefore, for the ſale of ſuch articles as ſuit only the Chriſtians.

Dgiherdgis, (ſellers of liver) carrying a long ſtick on their ſhoulders on which hang their goods, announce them for ſale by bawling out; but never beſtow them gratis. The quantity of ſheep daily ſlaughtered in an immenſe city, where leſs beef is eaten, which the Turks are not ſo fond of, neceſſarily multiplies theſe ſellers of liver, who daily take their rounds to diſpoſe of them in wholeſale to the Chriſtians, who eat them, and in retail to the old women, who in every country are fond of cats, without being more charitable towards them; but idleneſs, which is conſtantly ſearching after amuſement, furniſhes theſe Dgiherdgis with another very abundant ſale.

The manner of exiſtence of a Turk, who is ſo much at his eaſe as to have nothing to

do, is to go every day from his own houſe, ſeat himſelf in preference in a ſhop where ſmoaking tobacco is ſold. There, under pretence of trying to find ſome new quality in that article, he ſmokes ſeveral pipes without paying, and enjoys over and above, the view of the paſſengers, who, on their part, amuſe themſelves with the indolent gravity of the Turks, and the reſpectful appearance of two or three footmen, who ſtand by his ſide with their hands croſſed on their waiſts. In this poſition, the firſt liver ſeller who paſſes, ſtops, and boaſts his talent of aſſembling all the cats of the diſtrict, ſays a few good things to divert his excellency, and obtains permiſſion to begin his operations. The paſſengers ſtop, the cats aſſemble in the twinkling of an eye, at the watch word; the dealer's ſhoulders are covered with them, and they hang to his cloaths: he quickly furniſhes his troubleſome gueſts with a repaſt; the conſequential gentleman who is amuſed by this ſcene, pays the fellow; and the European, either ignorant of the language or little acquainted with it, and who does not live enough amongſt the Turks to ſtudy their genius, and their manners, thinks he has ſeen an act of charity,

publiſhes

publiſhes it as ſuch without further inquiry, and thus gives ſanction to an error.

Mankind ſtand ſo much in need of mutual aſſiſtance, that the ſocial virtues ought undoubtedly to be more familiar to them than they generally are. Theſe virtues ſeem to offer a natural remedy againſt thoſe misfortunes and neceſſities which are common to us all; and, from this conſideration, ought to be practiſed with more zeal and efficacy amongſt an oppreſſed people; but deſpotiſm deſtroys every ſentiment of humanity and commiſſeration in the victims whom it hourly ſacrifices: deſtitute itſelf of thoſe feelings, it only inſpires men, groaning under the weight of its oppreſſion, with the deſire of becoming oppreſſors. Tyranny owes all its ſlaves to the deſire of tyrannizing over others; and perſecution is ſo natural in Turkey, that there actually exiſts a formal compact in the country, a mutual agreement not to hurt each other.

A Turk who had been Couchedghy-Bachi *, under the reign of the three favourites of Sultan Mahomout, whom he was obliged to ſacrifice, and of whom I have already

* Couchedghy-Bachi; the Lieutenant of the Boſtandgy Bachi.

ſpoken

ſpoken at the beginning of theſe Memoirs, was very intimate with my father-in-law. The government ſtill made uſe of his underſtanding and his talents in their ſecret inquiries. Buſineſs of this nature had brought him to Pera *. He was deſirous of becoming acquainted with me; and ſeeming to regret that his affairs did not permit him to make a longer ſtay, he took leave, promiſing to return in a ſhort time. Already I had conducted him half way down ſtairs, when ſtopping ſuddenly, and turning round ſhort to one of my people, "Bring "me quickly," ſays he, "ſome bread and "ſalt." I was as much ſurprized at this whimſical requeſt, as at the earneſtneſs with which the ſervant flew to ſatisfy him. What he aſked for is brought him; he takes a little ſalt between his finger and thumb, with a myſterious air, and puts it on his bread,

* Pera, a ſuburb where the Ambaſſadors, and almoſt all the foreign merchants reſide, except the French, who in general live together at Galata. But it muſt not be imagined that theſe two quarters are appropriated excluſively to the Europeans. The Turks, the Greeks, the Jews, and the Armenians, who inhabit them, amount to more than fifty thouſand ſouls, to whom are joined two or three hundred real or pretended Europeans.

which

which he eats with a religious gravity, and takes his leave, aſſuring me that thenceforward I might depend upon him. I obtained an explanation of every thing important and ſignificant in this ceremony *. We ſhall ſee, however, that this very man, becoming Viſir, under the name of Moldovandgi Pacha, was at leaſt tempted to violate his oath with reſpect to me. However that may be, if this ſort of oath be not always religiouſly obſerved, it ſerves pretty often as a check to moderate that ſpirit of revenge to which the Turks are ſo naturally addicted. Their rage ſeldom ſhews itſelf in the firſt heat of paſſion; they never fight duels; but they aſſaſſinate; and it is thus they decide all quarrels which never can be reconciled. The perſon offended publicly whets his knife, or prepares his fire-arms; ſome friends ſtrive to appeaſe him, whilſt others excite and encourage him to the murder; but no meaſures are uſed tending to prevent the crime which theſe preparatives proclaim. Drunkenneſs, however, muſt precede it. The Turk is obliged to find in

* The Turks hold it to be the higheſt ingratitude to forget thoſe who have given them food, which is repreſented by the bread and ſalt in this ceremony.

wine,

wine, the degree of courage neceſſary to ſupply his anger. Arrived at this pitch, he leaves the tavern, and there is no longer any ſafety for the offender, except in the want of ſkill of the offended perſon. If the murder be committed, and the guard, who are armed only with ſticks *, purſue the aſſaſſin, it is then that he exhibits real proofs of courage; he defends himſelf like a lion; one would imagine that the crime had elevated his ſoul; and if he at length ſubmits, the threats of his aſſociates very ſoon bring the relations of the deceaſed to a compoſition, which leaves the guilty in poſſeſſion of

* The patroles who go through the city to preſerve order, and for the public ſafety, are only armed with ſticks, in the ſhape of little clubs, the thick end of which is dipped in roſin. When a criminal avails himſelf of his activity to eſcape, he is ſoon overturned by the addreſs of the guards, who throw their ſticks at his legs. One very often ſees people thrown down in this manner, who are no otherwiſe culpable than by going too quick about their buſineſs. It is a little amuſement by which the guards exerciſe their talent for laying hold of criminals; but when theſe latter have fire arms, the guards are more careful to avoid meeting, than ardent in the purſuit of them.

that

that high eſteem which this event inſures him †.

It is only a few hired Turks, ſome Chriſtians, or Jews, who furniſh examples of public puniſhments for the murders they may commit. In this caſe the criminal, conducted to the Porte, there receives his ſentence. No apparatus accompanies his execution; and I have met ſome of them paſſing through the croud, with which the ſtreets are filled, converſing with the men who were to be their executioners. The criminal only has his hands tied, and the executioner holds him by the waiſt. This is the moment to negociate with the relations of the deceaſed, and to attempt the accommodation I have mentioned. I have been aſſured by ſome perſons, that bargains of this kind ſometimes fail from the avarice of the criminal. The fact appears highly improbable; but ſuppoſing it to be true, it muſt ariſe, no doubt, from this circumſtance, that under a deſpotic government

† There is no exaggeration in this; they never ſay, but as an eulogium, ſuch a one has killed ſuch another: he who has killed ten, is the hero of his quarter; no entertainment without him; his friendſhip is a ſafeguard.

riches

riches are every thing, and life of very little value.

The habit of despising the Christians, and of honouring the Turks, has established the custom of placing the criminal's head, if he be a true believer, on his arm, which is bent for the purpose; and that of an infidel on his posteriors.

Nothing would be wanting to complete the barbarity of the Turks, but to imitate the custom in France, of extending the punishment of a personal crime, so as to cover with the infamy of his execution, those innocent persons who have the misfortune to be related to the guilty. In Turkey, on the contrary, they inscribe on his grave stone the name of the deceased, and the nature of his punishment; and I knew an European who was very ill received on this account, by a Greek woman of distinction, whose husband had been just hanged for a court broil. He thought it necessary to condole with her on this event, and dwelt particularly on the nature of the punishment. "How do you think he ought to have died then?" exclaimed the woman in rage. "Let me tell you, Sir, that nobody

in my family has died like a Raccal *." The European, aſtoniſhed, withdrew, wiſhing all her relations an happy exit. This prejudice, ſo very different from ours, is again explained by deſpotiſm. To be puniſhed for a ſtate crime, implies that the criminal muſt have been of ſome importance to the ſtate. Men ſubmit to a ſtate of dependance only in the hopes of commanding in their turn; this is the origin of ſlavery; it feeds the vanity of the ſlave, and is the only ſentiment of honour which can exiſt under deſpotiſm.

Although we have already ſeen that drunkenneſs hurries on the Turks to crimes, and gives them the force neceſſary to commit them, and although wine be prohibited by the law, the taverns at Conſtantinople are as public, and as numerous as public houſes in our towns; the government makes them pay, and protects them. Such of the Turks as frequent them, regularly get drunk; and the conſumption becoming a revenue of the Exchequer, is farmed out to

* Raccal, a grocer; they uſually die in their beds; this is the profeſſion which they have the cuſtom of contemptuouſly oppoſing to the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſituations.

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an Intendant, called Charab Eminy ‡. This officer receives the duties of entry; but the police of the taverns, as well as the fees they make them pay, belong to the firſt magiſtrate, and to the particular governors of the reſpective quarters.

I have ſaid, that in the ſolemn feaſts, the taverns are ſhut to avoid, during that period, the fatal effects of the habitual debauchery of the people. The police puts a ſeal on the door of every tavern; but a wicket contrived below, which the police pretends not to ſee, always leaves a free and public entry; it coſts no more than a ſlight ſtoop of the body to evade the law, and get drunk at pleaſure.

The three days of bairam, however, excite a ſort of anxiety on the part of government to prevent the diſorders which drunkenneſs might occaſion. The Ramazan which precedes theſe holidays, is the Lunar month deſtined to a faſt, and its epocha is advanced annually eleven days. This

‡ Charab Eminy, Intendant of the Wine; an employment never given by the government but to a Turk; he is the renter of that part of the grants, and collects the duties either in the quality of farm or direction.

time

time of abſtinence, copied by Mahomet from the Chriſtian faſts, conſiſts among the Turks, as it formerly did in the primitive church, in taking no nouriſhment whilſt the Sun is on the horizon. It is evident that the part of the Lunar revolution, which brings the Ramazan towards the winter ſolſtice, makes it leſs inſupportable than that which places it in the ſummer ſolſtice, from the length of the days and the exceſſive heat which prevails during the time of abſtinence; but the working claſs appear alone to ſuffer all the rigour of the Ramazan; deprived, during the day, of a glaſs of water to quench the thirſt, or refreſh the mouth, the ſetting ſun preſents them only with a frugal repaſt, with a little repoſe from fatigue, which is again interrupted by prayers, and the neceſſity of eating before ſunriſe.

The Ramazan offers a very different picture amongſt people of opulence. It is effeminacy, ſleeping in the arms of hypocriſy, and which only awakens to reſign itſelf to the pleaſures of good cheer, muſic, and of every thing which can compenſate to ſenſuality for the pain of abſtinence.

Submiſſive

Submiſſive to the revolution of a period preſcribed by the laws, and always impatient for its expiration, a Turk, during the Ramazan, is never tired of counting the hours or the minutes; he encompaſſes himſelf with all the watches and all the clocks he is maſter of, and this is the period in which Geneva collects the principal part of the tribute her induſtry impoſes on the Turks. This lucrative commerce would become infinitely more ſo, if, by a double quadrature ſo diſpoſed as to ſhorten the ſpiral of the balance, or gradually to raiſe the point of ſuſpenſion of the pendulum, they could advance the movement of the hands, and retard them by inverting the ſame operation, relatively to the ſetting of the ſun, which the Turks always ſtate at twelve hours; in this caſe I would engage, that ſenſible only to this diurnal reſult, they would not perceive that the quickneſs or ſlowneſs of the vibrations, by dividing the difference, would alter the duration of each particular hour.

The moſt regular watch in the world, however, would not be ſufficient to determine the moment of finiſhing the faſt; the cryers of the Moſques, placed in the galle-

ries

ries of the minarets, obſerve from thence the ſetting of the ſun, and the firſt ſignal muſt be given from that of Saint Sophia, by chaunting the invitation to prayers, which the other muezzins repeat from their minarets. At this period the impatience of the Turks, the moſt devout of whom always begin by ablution, leads generally to the luxury of ſmoaking, which is the firſt of their wants.

But if the Turks wait until the ſun diſappears, to allow themſelves ſome nouriſhment, they are not leſs attentive to aſcertain minutely the beginning of the new moon, to enter into the Ramazan; and in general it is only to begin this faſt that they place a full and unlimited confidence in aſtronomical calculations. It is remarked, in fact, that this moon, dedicated to abſtinence, uſually laſts no longer than eight and twenty days; and that the perſons appointed to obſerve this planet, and to make a formal declaration of it to the Porte, are always rather late in obſerving the firſt gleam of light which marks its renewal; but in return they are much leſs ſcrupulous in aſſerting the appearance of the following moon, which commences the Bairam, and

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is announced to the public by discharges of artillery.

The festival, however, which succeeds the term of abstinence amongst the Turks, cannot be compared with the solemnity which follows the Christian Lent; and one only discovers a sort of imitation of the Pascal Lamb, in the *Courbam Bairam*, the Bairam of the Sacrifice. This second Pascal feast does not take place until six weeks after the former. The Grand Signior, all the great men, and every body who can afford it, kill one or more sheep on that day. A proportionable number of these animals are particularly taken care of for that purpose, and have their wool combed and their horns gilt, and the moment of sacrificing these offerings must be calculated for the very instant when the same sacrifice takes place at Mecca.

The epocha of the Bairam is also that of the greatest luxuries; every body purchases, or gives, or receives new cloaths. It is the time, too, for parties of pleasure of every kind, which always produce some irregularities and disagreeable circumstances on the part of the walkers out, who disperse themselves through the different villages

lages for three or four leagues round Conſtantinople, and where the Turks, newly clad, *thoroughly abſolved*, and always well armed, think that they may perpetrate every thing with impunity, and exact what they think proper from the unhappy Greeks who vegetate in thoſe villages.

The aqueducts which convey water to Conſtantinople, are often the object of the Turkiſh walks; but we may ſuppoſe that it is neither to admire the architecture of theſe buildings, nor to judge of the ſalubrity of the water, that the curious flock there in crouds. They take great pains to carry wine and other things there to regale themſelves; they take poſſeſſion of the ruined kioſks built by the Emperors at the ſame time with the edifices deſtined to collect the rain water, and convey it to the capital.

The aqueducts which the Turks have been compelled to ſubſtitute for the ancient ciſterns, are ſo badly conſtructed, that a compariſon between them and the aqueduct of the Greeks, muſt give an advantageous idea of the latter.

The edifice, built in the time of Juſtinian, offers nothing intereſting either in point

point of boldneſs, or lightneſs of architecture. The good taſte of the architect is ſtill leſs conſpicuous; he ſeems only to have ſtudied to deceive the eye in the form of the pillars, by giving them the appearance of ſolid maſſes in the air, whilſt thoſe inverted cones form reliefs, which project too much at their baſis. A mixture of large Gothic arches, and of ſmall circular ones, are neither bolder nor more agreeable to the eye; and I have only looked upon this ſtructure as intereſting, in as far as it may ſerve to fix the period at which good taſte in architecture began to decline amongſt the Greeks.

The aqueducts of the Turks are of a more determinate kind; no proportion in the plan, no choice in the materials, no ſkill or neatneſs in their diſtribution; one is aſtoniſhed at the immenſity of the work, —one is out of patience at its imperfection; every thing announces ignorance ſet in motion by force, and kept in pay by avarice.

Theſe faults are leſs ſtriking in the Moſques built by the Turkiſh Emperors at Conſtantinople, becauſe all theſe edifices, built under the eye of the Sultans, and

and after the model of Saint Sophia, are more or leſs ornamented, and always well taken care of, from motives of fear and vanity, by the Greeks or Armenians, who are the undertakers of them. There are even ſome Moſques *, which, built on the plan of that ancient Greek church, have ſurpaſſed their model; but the model is very far from being a maſter-piece; and one would preſume, that a more attentive examination might have prevented travellers from laviſhing their praiſes on the ſtructure of Saint Sophia. Had theſe travellers been more ſkilled in architecture, they might have concluded, from the diſplacing of the pillars alone, that after having œconomiſed in the original plan, the maſſes neceſſary for ſolidity, they have been unreaſonably laviſh in the ſpurs with which the building is at length ſupported; they might have ſeen too, by meaſuring with the eye, the arch of the exterior dome, that the flat roof which ſerves for cieling, offers only an illuſory boldneſs,

* The Moſque of Sultan Achmet, and that of Checkzade, are of a more ſlender conſtruction; and the former ornamented with ſix Minarets, extends the whole place of the Hyppodromos.

and that far from ſupporting itſelf, independant of the building, it is ſuſpended by the full centre which covers it. I have been aſſured even, that this inner dome was built of pumice ſtone, bound with a very fine cement of paſte and lime, which reduces to nothing this pretended wonder. The inſide decoration does no greater honour to the age of Conſtantine †. A great quantity of columns ſet it at different diſtances, without proportion, the module of which appears to have been miſtaken in their height, in their baſes, and in their capitals; no order in the entablature, no rule, no taſte in the profiles, theſe ſurely do not merit ſo much celebrity. There is nothing in fact to admire in that building, but the richneſs and abundance of materials, in which one would be tempted to imagine one diſcovered thoſe precious ruins,

† It is pretended, that this edifice, built by Conſtantine, and deſtroyed by an earthquake, was rebuilt by Juſtinian; but I think we ſhould only attribute to this laſt emperor, the maſſes of ſtone by way of ſpurs erected on the outſide to ſupport the pillars, which had given way in conſequence of the earthquake. The effect of theſe ſhocks is ſtill apparent from the inclination of the columns, whoſe baſis of bronze do not equally ſupport them.

which

which are no longer to be found at Delphi or at Delos.

But the beauty of the Moſaics which adorned the roof of Saint Sophia is indiſputable: I have been ſtill able to diſcover the end of the wings of the four cherubins, which were ſupported by the cornice, at the ſpring of the arch of the four pillars. The obſtinacy of the Turks in daubing this dome with lime water, leaves nothing to be ſeen at this day of theſe Moſaics, and they are daily compleating their deſtruction, by continuing to tear off ſplinters, which a barbarous curioſity purchaſes of that ignorance and avidity which as barbarouſly deſtroys them.

Some pieces of theſe Moſaics, ſplit into cryſtals of three or four cubic lines, being ſent to Vienna to be cut, produced ſtone of different colours of a very fine luſtre, and great hardneſs.

The contempt of the Turks for the moſt precious work we know of, leaves no doubt of the ſimplicity of the ornaments which decorate their other Moſques. Theſe ornaments conſiſt in no more than four large tables, on which are written the names of the four diſciples of Mahomet;

ſeveral paſſages of the Coran are alſo written in different places, and particularly towards the pulpit, from whence this ſacred book is read during the meditation which precedes the prayer. I muſt add, that the women admitted alſo into the Moſques, place themſelves only in the part deſtined to their uſe; and if the Turkiſh manners had not rendered that ſeparation neceſſary in other reſpects, one would pardon their eſtabliſhing it in their temples, where order and ſilence ought conſtantly to remind us, that if the neceſſities of life have limited and regulated certain intervals in divine worſhip, we cannot offer too reſpectful an adoration in the temple conſecrated to the Eternal Being.

Vocal muſic, inſtead of the noiſe of bells, announces the hour of prayer, in an Arabic formula, which combines the unity of God, the miſſion of the Prophet, prayers and good works. The muezzins of each Moſque * mount for that purpoſe on their minarets. This ſort of ſteeple,

* Muezzins,—Cryers of the Moſque; it is an office which the Iman performs himſelf in the ſmaller benefices, but in the great Moſques it is a diſtinct office.

which

which reſemble columns, are ſmall hollow towers of four or five feet diameter; they riſe of an equal thickneſs from the angles of the Moſque, to the height of the domes, where a projecting gallery of twenty or thirty inches, communicates with a winding ſtair-caſe, which leads to it by a little gate, always facing Mecca. The minaret then diminiſhing about a fourth of its thickneſs, continues to riſe about a fifth or ſixth part of its height; and terminates in a pointed cone, covered with lead, and finiſhed in a ſort of creſcent, the two extremities of which, in a fluted curve, and very near each other, uſually encircle the name of God, cut out of the metal. The principal Moſques have ſeveral of theſe minarets, to each of which the galleries are doubled or trebled; but thoſe of Saint Sophia have only one; they are alſo the leaſt lofty, and the leaſt ſlender †.

It might be proper, doubtleſs, in this place, to aſcertain the eſtimation in which the Turks hold the creſcent; but I ſhall

† Theſe minarets, which were doubtleſs built ſoon after the taking of Conſtantinople, are become diſagreeable to the eye, from the lightneſs and boldneſs of thoſe which have been ſince conſtructed.

have

have occaſion to treat of this matter in ſpeaking of the Grand Signior's artillery; and I ſhall confine myſelf at preſent to obſerve, that in rebuilding the Viſir's palace, after the fire I have ſpoken of, the architect made uſe of fleurs de lys, with four leaves, for the laſt ornament of the cupola covering the gate which ſeparates the two courts. He ſubſtituted this ornament for the creſcents which were on the former gate. Obſerving this little decoration at the Palace of France, he adopted it, and nobody imagined that it had any meaning.

From a refinement of the ſame nature, but of a very different effect, two antique green columns, placed by way of ornament at the principal gate of the Seraglio, are ſupported on their capitals. I complained of this to the ſuperintendant of the buildings, who very judiciouſly obſerved to me, that the foliage of the capitals, ſo ingeniouſly carved, richly merited to be placed within the reach of admiration.

Conſtantinople, on the ſide of the ſea, furniſhes likewiſe the moſt painful proſpect: one ſees there a foreſt of columns, ranged croſs-ways, and on ſeveral beds, which

which ſerve as a foundation for her lofty walls; and the richeſt ruins, confounded with the vileſt materials, preſent, at every ſtep, the afflicting picture of ignorance and barbariſm, confuſedly jumbled with the precious remains of the ancient Grecian knowledge.

To finiſh this painting of the Turks, and to give an idea of their ſtupid pride, it will be ſufficient to cite one of their favourite adages:

Riches in India,
Wit in Europe,
and
Pomp amongſt the Ottomans.

The picture of the Grand Signior's proceſſion on the day of Coronation, has given an idea of their ſo much boaſted pomp; but I muſt allow that there is ſomething brilliant and ſtriking enough in the cavalcade which accompanies the Grand Signior when he goes out upon the ſea. The grace, the lightneſs, the richneſs of his boats, can be compared with nothing of that kind we have amongſt us. His Highneſs alone has the right of having a tilt covered with ſcarlet, and crowned with three gilded lanterns, and twenty-ſix rowers;

ers; a ſimilar boat which follows for any occaſion that may offer, always ſerves him to return in. The different officers of the Court attend him, each in the boats appropriated to them; and their great number, joined to the preciſion of the ſtrokes of the oars, and the quickneſs of the motion, preſents the moſt majeſtic proſpect, and the moſt agreeable coup d'œil.

When the Grand Signior's ſon is of age to appear in public, his boat, rowed alſo by ſix and twenty rowers, is diſtinguiſhed by a blue tilt, after which the Viſir is the only perſon who can have a tilt; but it muſt be green, and his boat muſt not have more than twenty-four rowers.

The Mufti, expoſed in his boat to the intemperance of the air, like the loweſt individual, is only diſtinguiſhed by nine pair of oars, and the privilege of having two men on each bench.

The boats of the other great men, whoſe number of oars is determined alſo by the importance of their offices, have only one rower on each bench, as well as the foreign Ambaſſadors, who likewiſe have no right to carry a tilt.

But

But the boats of the harem, which carry the Grand Signior's wives, are manned with twenty-four rowers, and have white covered tilts, ſhut alternately by Venetian blinds; walls of canvaſs are prepared likewiſe for their reception, of which a little narrow ſtreet is formed, which runs from the gate of the Seraglio to the boats. When they go out to walk, which is very ſeldom, the rural harem which is prepared for them, is ſurrounded likewiſe in the ſame manner, and they are introduced into it with the ſame precaution. Black eunuchs ſurround this incloſure, and Aſſequis *, armed with carbines, form a ſecond line of circumvallation to defend the approaches. Unfortunate the man, who, ignorant of theſe diſpoſitions, comes within gun ſhot! The ſtroke of death would be his firſt warning. It is thus that the wives of the Prince, kept always in a fold like ſheep, enjoy the pleaſure of breathing the freſh air.

This extraordinary entertainment gives, undoubtedly no very exalted idea of the perpetual joys which reign in the harem

* Boſtandgi Aſſequis, who perform the office of the Prevote de L'hotel in France; they are the grenadiers of the corps of Boſtandgis.

of

of the Grand Signior. One may conceive that the women exiſt there leſs agreeably, than in this little park, ſince it is intended as a party of pleaſure. Here is matter enough, no doubt, to reform many miſtaken ideas.

Thoſe which I had at firſt collected of the Turkiſh government and military were incorrect. One can only judge of men in action; and I reſerve thoſe particulars for the events of the laſt war, which developed them more completely to me. Theſe hiſtorical details will bring me back to Conſtantinople, from whence I ſet out in 1763, on my return to France, to acquaint the Miniſtry that I was loſing my time, and the King his money, were I not to be more uſefully employed.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.